



Capitalism and Cartography

IN THE DUTCH GOLDEN AGE

Elizabeth A. Sutton

Capitalism and Cartography in the Dutch Golden Age

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To my brothers

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Capitalism, Cartography, and Culture

If seeing is believing, then representing is to have ultimate control of the seen world.¹

—Richard Brettell

Early Modern Capitalism and Cartography

Now characteristic of the Dutch Golden Age, printed maps, views, and historical descriptions of Dutch Atlantic possessions were prolific in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. They were in books, hung on walls, and sold in single sheets to consumers eager to learn about exploration, trade, and colonization. In the seventeenth century, prints provided an immense amount of information about geography, natural history, and ethnography to readers in Europe. Map publication and dissemination coincided with and was part of the rise of the Dutch Republic as a preeminent capitalist nation in the early modern global world system.² Printed maps reflected and reinforced an episteme that integrated humanist conceptions of individual virtue with the concept of the nation-state and modern capitalism. It is my aim to use printed Dutch maps of their Atlantic territories to discuss how these maps used a rhetoric of virtue and rationality to legitimate the global expansion of the Dutch during their so-called Golden Age. I explain how picturing places underscored the legal, political, and economic systems of Dutch power played out at home and in the Atlantic arena between circa 1600 and 1650. In other words, I look to these early printed Dutch maps as historical case studies of how authorized media perpetuated and promoted the unity of the state and its integration with modern capitalism. Pictures—in maps and books—organized and controlled space and people by showing boundaries, commodities, and topographical details. These were features chosen and manipulated based on what the publisher, state-sponsored corporate bodies, and the merchant elite deemed signifi-

cant. Those with political and economic capital reinforced their power and values in the cultural sphere pictorially and in the intellectual sphere in historical and legal texts. These two domains combined especially in printed maps by Amsterdam publisher Claes Jansz Visscher.

In the formative years of the Dutch Republic, Visscher and others printed maps and broadsides to advertise the military and commercial conquests of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) and West India Company (WIC), and impart news about domestic battles and sieges as well. Illustrated books and maps also promoted investments at home such as land reclamation projects. Maps—as both military and commercial news sources—suggest the ineluctable connection between commercial expansion and state power. Building on Max Weber's ideas, Chuck Tilly has argued that the formation of early modern nation-states was reliant upon powerholders' access and ability to extract capital which allowed them to monopolize violence, which is "legitimated" by its consolidation under the sovereignty of the nation-state.³ Obtaining loans from bankers was one method for getting the necessary capital; another was taxation, which was justified through various processes, including the incorporation of a legal model such as that of Rome. Such a model provided the basis for an episteme that could legitimate by providing the logic that grants sovereign powers to a body—for reasons of divine right, or virtue, or territorial possession, or a combination of factors. Capital accumulation then, in the form of private property and territories whose resources could be exploited and taxed, became inextricably linked to the formation of the state, and its ability to enforce its prerogatives through official application of law and military power.

After 1621, the WIC claimed land in North and South America as colonies for the States General. In 1621, the Dutch States General granted the WIC a charter to engage in trade, colonization, and war in the Atlantic arena, including the Americas and West Africa. Early Dutch coastal charts, ground plans, city profiles, and vignettes depicting American colonies and West African forts were part of the printed cartographical propaganda used to guide merchants, attract colonists, and support Dutch territorial claims and prompt investment in the companies' enterprises. Overall, they showed the functioning, integrated military-commercial system of a nation-state that was willing to devolve limited sovereign powers to commercial companies. Although the WIC lost its colonies in Brazil in 1654 and New Netherland in 1667, the Dutch gained the sugar-rich colony of Suriname in 1667 and maintained forts on the West Coast of Africa into the nineteenth century.⁴

My story focuses on Claes Jansz Visscher's role as disseminator of information about corporate activities through maps. Visscher's maps of Am-

sterdam and WIC territories have not been studied as commodities in their own right, or as artifacts of a dynamic social network engaging Visscher and the governing merchant elite of Holland, and the corporate body of the WIC. Visscher, like other publishers, profited from promoting WIC exploits, as well as domestic territorial victories and reclamation projects in printed maps. Indeed, in many ways, these maps fit within his larger oeuvre of prints promoting Dutch unity, albeit here, by glorifying commerce and conquest.⁵ This book contributes to an ongoing discussion about the role of Visscher as a print publisher in Amsterdam, and more broadly, the complicated role of news maps as propaganda for the WIC, and the role of maps as capitalist and imperial tools. With the Beemster land reclamation project begun in 1608, merchant investment in land reclamation intensified in the nascent Dutch Republic. This marked a shift from reclamation under local democratic water boards (*waterschappen*); capital came from merchants investing and seeking returns. Such corporatization promoted by the state also marked Dutch overseas expansion.

The question of whether the Dutch role in the Atlantic exemplifies empire has been a subject of debate, but I consider the expansionist, mercantilist, and interconnected nature of the enterprises undertaken by the WIC during the seventeenth century to be imperial.⁶ If empire is “a relationship, formal or informal, in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society . . . by force, by political collaboration, by economic, social or cultural dependence” then the Dutch States General, through the corporate body of the WIC, sought imperial control of Atlantic territories.⁷ Often, individuals had ties to federal, provincial, or municipal government and to commercial bodies. Expanding territory was needed by the expansionist logic of capitalism. Control was gained by military force, economic measures, embodied social hierarchies, and visual and textual rhetoric in maps.

The Blaeu firm has most often been the focus of studies on corporate mapping because Willem Blaeu became the VOC’s official cartographer in 1633, and the size and longevity of the Blaeu firm propagated many printed maps for public consumption. But between 1608 and his death in 1652, Visscher also published and sold maps that were newsworthy and that promoted investments at home and abroad, especially in the WIC’s territories. His maps of Amsterdam, New Netherland (better known today as New York), and New Holland (Dutch Brazil) were meant for the open market, and in this book I address the ramifications of their production and consumption. After establishing the historical and intellectual foundation for property ownership and the role of maps at the turn of the century in

Holland in the first chapters, I turn my focus to the printed maps of Brazil and New Netherland in chapters 4 and 5. I focus on these areas because they were the colonial territories of the WIC. Although the WIC held trading forts in West Africa, its approach to business and violence there was very different than in New Netherland and Brazil. Similarly, the loss of New Netherland in 1664 and acquisition of Suriname in 1667 marked the beginning of a very different colonial governing structure in that colony than that of the WIC in New Netherland or New Holland. The WIC played only a small part in the development of Suriname, especially after its bankruptcy in 1674 and the formation of the Society of Suriname in 1682 which governed the colony under a charter from the States General.⁸

Visscher provides a model of an Amsterdam publisher who responded to and shaped Dutch consciousness of the world and their role in it. In Amsterdam, the seat of the province of Holland, competition among printers led to innovations in size and composition of maps, and the successful products were quickly issued by major publishing houses. Following precedents introduced by the first generation of cartographers in Amsterdam, including Jodocus Hondius and Cornelis Claesz, Visscher became a significant contributor to map publishing, particularly news maps. He combined the topographical with the geographical to create a unified, aesthetically accomplished, informative whole. Visscher's news maps brought together city views and text along with plans and topography to create a particularly attractive product that complemented any text, but also could stand alone. This "pictorial cartography," as Boudewijn Bakker has called it, made Visscher's maps some of the most widely copied throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century.⁹ In combining mathematical two-dimensionality characteristic of cartography such as navigational charts with more subjective topographical details and views, Visscher integrated the pictured rational and technical with other forms of discursive legal, didactic, political, and economic elements.

Theorizing Capitalist Cartography

Mapmakers like Visscher presented their work as from life: they claimed to be objectively descriptive and helped form an epistemology that privileged direct observation and rational positivism. Cartographers and publishers presented maps as empirical systems, obscuring the subjective and conventionalized aspects of mapping and of the systems used to organize the land depicted. Maps combined navigational and military knowledge with information on resources, boundaries, and ethnography, including human

settlements. Ground plans delineated and organized cities, and city profiles presented portraits of civilized colonial cities. At the same time, maps could function as evidence or as legal documents of possession and ownership. The idea that eyewitness was proof in courts of law corresponded with other positivist tendencies in the early modern period and into the Enlightenment. In many ways, Dutch maps exemplify Enlightenment ideals of empiricism and rationality through picturing. Visual mechanisms organized land and territory and highlighted technology and development in defined vignettes. The pictures were part of an episteme of rationalization: Roman-Dutch law was enacted at home and abroad and pictorially supported by maps. Dutch publishers created maps that appealed to the Dutch elite and their particular political beliefs and economic concerns.

My work attests Visscher's maps as artifacts of the dynamic networks and actions of government officials, merchants, and publishers within a complex social structure where visibility complements history, positivism and rationalization, and the concomitant rise of the Dutch nation-state and its capitalistic economy. The chapters are case studies of this "structuration as reproduction" where "the moment of the production of action is also one of reproduction in the context of day to day enactment of social life."¹⁰ Scholars study historical materialism to suggest modes of social organization and their causes, analyzing the interplay of economic, political, and ideological phenomena. Pertinent to my case study of seventeenth-century maps, Anthony Giddens has critiqued Max Weber, Karl Marx, and Michel Foucault as part of a massive theoretical apparatus supporting his articulation of how societies work, and particularly, how power is dynamically negotiated.¹¹ His theory of structuration, which I do not attempt to fully address here, suggests that individuals with agency are important in the complex interrelation of politics and economics, creating a dynamic system that is produced and reproduced by human action in time and space. In identifying human activity and repetition of action to create and recreate social forces, Giddens echoes Pierre Bourdieu, who summarized the symbolic significance of human action within a class-based society:

Symbolic capital is nothing more than economic or cultural capital which is acknowledged and recognized, when it is acknowledged in accordance with the categories of perception that it imposes, the symbolic power relations tend to reproduce and reinforce the power relations which constitute the structure of the social space. More concretely, the legitimization of the social order is not the product, as certain people believe, of a deliberately biased action of propaganda or symbolic imposition; it results from the fact that

agents apply to the objective structures of the social world structures of perception and appreciation that have emerged from these objective structures and tend therefore to see the world as self-evident.¹²

This is important to emphasize with respect to my arguments involving Dutch maps: Publishers, WIC officials, and regents did not always use maps consciously as instruments of power, but maps nonetheless were used as such, both for individual display and collective expansion and legitimization of actions at home and abroad. The maps reflected and reinforced values that appeared to them to be self evident and in this way underscored their root logic for a social system based on natural law.

Of particular significance within Giddens's observations on the structure of societies is his identification, via Weber, of the privileging of rationality within capitalist systems and the legitimated modern nation-state. Both employ rationalist actions toward productive activity and self-justification. Marx and Weber saw ancient Roman society as providing precedents for capitalism in its rational jurisprudence, including hieratic administration, legal procedure, property rights, and taxation.¹³ This system of rational jurisprudence based in "natural" inclination to hierarchies was furthered by Dutch legal theorist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) in order to defend and legitimate Dutch commercial and military expansion. For Giddens, capitalism has consequences for analyses of the modern political order not least because of how both are rationalized. Both require extensive bureaucracies to organize society and for those in power to exert control within society. As we will see, rational juristic thought allowed for arguments to be made to claim natural sovereignty, dictate ownership and legitimate taxes, and defend military maneuvers. As is well known, rationalization also drives the efficiency required for profit making. State and commercial institutions required paperwork in the form of accounting and also in legal and rhetorical justification for actions and official positions. The attendant bureaucracy is common to both modern states and capitalist enterprises.

How power is legitimated is the important question here. For Giddens, power is generated in societies through the control of allocative and authoritative resources.¹⁴ The former is concerned with controlling goods and means of production; the latter with controlling people and bodies; both are contingent on specific times and places of action, which generate and reproduce through the structures of domination.¹⁵ Allocative resources entail (1) material features of the environment such as raw materials and power sources; (2) means of material production and reproduction through instruments, machines, and technology; and (3) products and artifacts created by

1 and 2. Authoritative resources include (1) the ability to organize social time-space (i.e., organize socio-spatial interactions), (2) the production and reproduction of the body and the mutual association of humans, and (3) the organization of life chances and potential for self-development and self-expression.¹⁶ Giddens emphasizes that the domination of either allocative or authoritative resources can generate power in a society, although typically European historians have focused on allocative resources in their discussion of capitalism particularly. Control of both types is significant, as each complements the other. Germane to the project at hand, Giddens explains that the storage of information in both the physical product (allocative) and the cultural knowledge used to retrieve and make sense of that data (authoritative) is necessary for domination. It is worth quoting him fully:

The storage of authoritative and allocative resources may be understood as involving the retention and control of information or knowledge whereby social relations are perpetuated across time-space. Storage presumes *media* of information representation, modes of information *retrieval* or recall and, as with all power resources, modes of dissemination . . . these media of information storage . . . all depend for their retrieval upon the recall capacities of the human memory but also upon skills of interpretation that may be possessed by only a minority within any given population. The dissemination of stored information is, of course, influenced by the technology available for its production. The existence of mechanized printing, for instance, conditions what forms of information are available and who can make use of it. Moreover, the character of the information medium . . . directly influences the nature of the social relations which it helps to organize.

It is the containers which store allocative and authoritative resources that generate the major types of structural principle in the constitution of societies. . . . Information storage . . . is a fundamental phenomenon permitting time-space distanciation and a thread that ties together the various sorts of allocative and authoritative resources in reproduced structures of domination.¹⁷

Giddens emphasizes the importance of the city and writing as a particularly effective combination, forming a "'crucible of power' upon which the formation of class divided societies depends."¹⁸ Maps printed in Amsterdam are exemplary of this phenomenon. In maps, the particular form of data and its mode of presentation in regularized format emphasized the very rationalism legitimating the system of commerce and argument for sovereignty and organization for the new nation. Rationalism was explained by prints via the

regularity and delineation of boundaries; an emphasis on mechanized, efficient production; and veristic portraits of institutions in commercial cities in the subject matter depicted, and the attendant texts articulating this natural logic.

Weber understood that rationalism was itself irrational, that privileging it was a cultural prerogative. Empirical science, with origins in natural philosophy, was a way to make sense of the world, but by its practitioners' own investigations and method dispelled the hermeneutical drive that had brought it into being. Science could not confer meaning, but only provide data, which needs interpreting in human contexts.¹⁹ Weber also saw irrational rationalization in ascetic Protestant belief used to justify labor. He attributed a work ethos to this "economic form" or systematic model of modern capitalism.²⁰ This "spirit" or "modern economic ethic" encompasses working for work's sake—that one's *duty* is to work (and to increase wealth). This ethos "legitimizes and provides motivation for the rigorous organization of work, the methodical approach to labor, and the systematic pursuit of profit typical of modern capitalism."²¹ This "modern economic ethic" is what defines Weber's "spirit of capitalism." In this system, profits are justified as rewards for labor. If Calvinist theology proclaimed that only a select, preordained few were actually saved and good works in the world did nothing for one's future salvation, the question of "am I saved?" presented an anxiety in believers that required validation of their existence—Weber argued that this was found by believers in the capacity to work (if I am able to identify my calling [*Beruf*] and do the work, and it provides for my family and society, I am blessed to be able to fulfill my duty to glorify God), and the rewards of work are possible indications of providential blessing. In Weber's model, ascetic Protestants held that one could never rely on anything except faith (and God's will was unknowable) but that one had to act as if one were saved, even with—and especially because of—the knowledge that one can never truly know that one is saved. This unknowability thereby justified work and efficiency, considered moral virtues within the culture of believers. This "spirit" then became systematic and endemic, where ownership, profit, and accumulation are socially acceptable, and work for work's sake reinforces the social system.

Marx thought capitalism and its processes were the cause of the alienation of the individual from society. For him, money reduced all human qualities and relationships to quantitative values of exchange. The "rational" pursuit of profit and corresponding dominance of money in human relationships required hieratic bureaucracy and contracts, standardizing relationships, and thereby alienated people from each other. A thing, as

Marx writes, is alienable because it is external to the individual. Through the bureaucracy required for efficient profit-making, money and credit become the locus governing human exchanges. Marx explains alienation via contractual interaction: "This juridical relation, which thus expresses itself in a contract, whether such contract be part of a developed legal system or not, is a relation between two wills, and is but the reflex of the real economic relation between the two. It is this economic relation that determines the subject-matter comprised in each such juridical act."²² In other words, it is the exchange of things that requires a contract to define social relationships. This relationship puts the thing and its value between people. This feeling of alienation is explained away by a false belief, such as claims to scientific efficiency, the Godliness of work and profit, or the idea that individual humans naturally compete for resources rather than naturally share them.

Both Weber and Marx understood that the efficiency required in the systematic pursuit of profit constituent of capitalistic production can lead to the homogenization of society and potential alienation of the individual from society. Capitalism has a universalizing character, normalizing and standardizing actions within the system. In turn this "practical rational" way of life, with a rigidly bureaucratized workplace and institutions, creates a society of highly conforming persons who lack their own ideals and sense of self, and corresponding potential loss of ethical responsibility for one's actions. Paradoxically, identity itself becomes a commodity, produced and distinguished through display of goods, like maps, but wholly operating within the system.²³ Bourdieu's concept of symbolic goods is useful to us, in that particular commodities (here, the maps) signified the perceived cultivation and status of individuals within particular groups—in this case, merchants and public officials seeking to assert their virtuous trade and wealth and set themselves apart and rationalize the importance and significance of their very existence. These were in turn, seen as self-evident truths about their—and the Dutch Republic's—role in the world.

From the summaries above, it should be clear that the theoretical framework I use to examine these maps relies on the insights of Giddens, Weber, and Marx, as well as Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. I do so in an attempt to unearth the construction and reification of an epistemic system and explain the actors and motivations within fields that produce and reproduce culture to create a structured, yet dynamic society of individual agents and institutions of nation-state and commerce.²⁴ My interpretations engage social cartographic history, social geography, economic history, and political science, while my methodology is grounded in the close visual and contextual analysis of an art historian. Following J. B. Harley, Matthew Edney, and

cartographic historians, I consider maps as documents that tell us much about the society in which they were created. Maps, like any form of visual culture, use and exploit the cultural codes that underlie knowledge and the values and hierarchies which legitimate that knowledge. Maps as we conceptualize them were standardized at a time when objectivity, empiricism, and positivism were increasingly privileged modes for knowledge construction. At the same time, maps became common consumer goods and were important political and economic tools. As geographer David Harvey has written,

In the bourgeois era . . . concern for accuracy of navigation and the definition of territorial rights (both private and collective) meant that mapping and cadastral survey became the basic tools for conjoining the geographer's art with the exercise of political and economic power. The exercise of military power and mapping went hand in hand. In the imperialist era, the cartographic basis was laid for the imposition of capitalist forms of territorial rights in areas of the world (Africa, the Americas, Australasia, and much of Asia) that had previously lacked them. Cartographic definitions of sovereignty (state formation) aided state formation and the exercise of state powers. Cartography laid the legal basis for class-based privileges of land ownership and the right to the appropriation of the fruits of both nature and labor within well-defined spaces. It also opened up the possibility for the "rational" organization of space for capital accumulation.²⁵

Benedict Anderson noted that the regularization of Western maps into the graticules defined by latitude and longitude in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had revolutionary ramifications in colonies—"the task of 'filling in' the boxes" with data about subjects thus organized territory for the state and allowed the state to surveil its (colonial) subjects.²⁶ Anderson also noted that maps function symbolically, in the sense Bourdieu and Giddens articulate: their reproduction produced the cultural imagination of communities, but even while the state showed its power through organizing and controlling territory, the recognizability of the grid allowed the colonial map to become a symbol for anticolonialists to react against.²⁷

Such geographical "box-filling" corresponded with scientific accounting methods to rationalize expenditures and incomes and compute profit on the part of merchants and trade companies in the early modern period.²⁸ Although Dutch merchants were aware of the Italian method of double-entry bookkeeping—Simon Stevin, the stadholder's military surveyor and engineer, had published in Dutch what is regarded as the best seventeenth-century manual on how to keep double-entry records in 1604, and it is

known the Zeeland chamber of the VOC used the method at least from 1602 until 1607—the accounting done by the VOC and WIC followed Hanseatic accounting practices rather than double-entry bookkeeping.²⁹ Because accounts were kept by companies' local chambers, often Company directors only provided a general accounting to shareholders.³⁰ Thus, rhetoric—including visual rhetoric—must have been necessary and played an important role in promoting the perception of profitability among investors and potential investors. The visual rhetoric of maps underscores contemporary rationalizations of possession. The rhetoric of possession, indicated by clarity and rationalism in maps, helped to suggest profit, rather than numbers.

An important aspect of why rationalism was important in maps is that legal rationality was critical in defining the nation-state and paralleled the capitalist and colonial projects that contributed to the rise of the fledgling Dutch Republic. Printed news, including maps, were instruments of communal identity formation around the abstract concept of a sovereign nation-state (the Dutch Republic), a physical historical territory (Holland as ancient Batavia), and acted capitalist enterprises enforced by state-sponsored companies. Persistent themes in the maps include history, lauding the industriousness of Hollanders, and the innovations that wielded success and providential rationalization of wealth. Indeed, the "attachment to a homeland associated with the creation and perpetuation of certain distinctive ideals and values, traceable to certain historically given features of 'national' experience" are some of the recurrent traits of nationalism that Giddens identified, and Anderson has more fully explicated.³¹ Maps underscored Dutch, and especially Hollanders', conception of themselves within an ancient history and with distinctive traits that justified profit and global expansion. Moreover, these images of the Dutch Republic and its territories were not just a product of official commission, but also driven by market demand. Consumers across Dutch society wanted information. By appealing to unity and claiming authority from life, Visscher's maps seemed applicable to all, even while this ideal of unity and rationalist justification actually reinforced the limited views of the merchant elite and government officials.

The commodification of land corresponded with rationalization in maps and state formation in the seventeenth-century Netherlands. The new nation needed to expand markets and control its resources. Marx saw the role land ownership had in capitalist and colonial systems, noting that it was in the seventeenth century when land first became a commodity for exchange, although he contends that this did not occur on a national scale until the eighteenth century.³² However, the capitalist-colonial projects undertaken by the VOC and WIC suggest that it was precisely at this moment in the

Netherlands that a confluence of ideas concerning individual property and the role of the state occurs. In the medieval period reclaimed land in the Netherlands was divided into *copes*. *Copes* consisted of a standard plot of land divided equally between six or eight families who farmed it. In turn, the families were granted personal freedoms and ownership of the cleared land. Each was regarded a shareholder in the property and enjoyed the rights of ownership in proportion to the effort they contributed to farming it.³³ However, because of the subsidence of reclaimed peatlands and the minimal number of profitable crops that could be planted, Holland's economy increasingly became urban and reliant upon capital assets and monetization. This increasingly empowered urban merchants. They became investors in new land reclamation projects, rather than local farmers. Moreover, merchants were also empowered in the local government, which translated into Holland's provincial and federal power. Real political power had long been vested in towns governed by regents, while the federal States General basically coordinated the diverse interests of the Provincial States and their representative cities to ensure regional dissent did not dissolve the tenuous federation. Thus, a shift in power dynamics related to land and capital occurred well before the eighteenth century with corporatization of reclamation projects and overseas trade and increased urban power.

By the seventeenth century, the definition of "land as a thing to be possessed" and the need to expand globally for the continuous economic growth demanded in a capitalist system was legally and rhetorically articulated by the intellectuals of Holland, and reinforced in text and image by its artists and publishers. Grotius's ideas about rights and contracts were not just coterminous with the rise of the Dutch global trading empire, but made it possible in the first place. They were, in effect, built on the belief of a natural right to private property, as discussed further on.

Concerning state sovereignty and imperialism, legal historian Lauren Benton has noted how imperial powers sought to support their respective claims to possession not so much via occupation *per se* as via presenting *better* evidence (of occupation) than their competitors. This evidence often took the form of maps.³⁴ Harley similarly noted how prints intensified the standardization and generalization of cultural codes.³⁵ In the seventeenth century, one of these codes was legitimacy based on the increasing authority placed in eyewitness and pictorial proof, and that which appeared self-evident—so-called natural law. Grotius used natural rights theory to radically redefine property as private and individual. Extrapolated to corporate bodies, this aspect of his jurisprudence set the stage for capitalist growth and imperialistic expansionism—helping to create the "First Modern Economy,"

described by de Vries and van der Woude. Antony Anghie has argued that contemporary international law, of which Grotius is considered a founding father, emanated from the colonial encounter, and that the relationships between states that international law seeks to organize have built-in inequality because of assumed hierarchy and the ways initial non-European cultures were conceived of by European legal theorists.³⁶

It has long been recognized that mapping is a tool of empire. Harley, Edney, Denis Cosgrove, Martin Brückner, Immanuel Wallerstein, and Benjamin Schmidt, among others, have identified the sociological, political, and economic implications of geography and mapping.³⁷ Edney distinguished between maps in the service of states, and maps in the service of empire, suggesting state mapping "entails a dialogue, if not among equals, then at least among people with a stake in the subject being mapped," whereas "imperial mapping manifests a dramatic irony in which imperial actors map a territory not for the benefit of its inhabitants—who do not participate within and who largely remain ignorant of the discourse—but for a knowing, empowered, imperial audience."³⁸ As he concludes, "'Empire' is a cartographic construction; modern cartography is the construction of modern imperialism."³⁹ While it might be argued that the WIC was not itself a "state," the Company was imbued with limited sovereignty by its charter from the States General. Under the direction of its commanders, the WIC's ability to engage in war, enter into and enforce trading agreements and contracts, acquire territory, exercise legal authority over subordinates, and limit or disseminate what information was available in print made the WIC an agent of Dutch empire.⁴⁰

As James Scott has identified, much of early modern European statecraft was devoted to rationalizing and standardizing social relationships to land and property into a "legible and administratively more convenient format," like cadastral tax maps.⁴¹ These simplified pictures of reality could not possibly represent the whole of society, or individuals' actual activity, nor were they intended to—they represented whatever information was of import to the official. Maps, when allied with state power, enabled much of the reality they depicted. As Scott writes, "Thus a state cadastral map created to designate taxable property-holders does not merely describe a system of land tenure; it creates such a system through its ability to give its categories the force of law."⁴²

Maps certainly contributed to the idea of a "Dutch Atlantic" and expansionist action in the first half of the seventeenth century, even if maps published from the Netherlands after 1648 also could appeal to general European audiences.⁴³ Kees Zandvliet's extensive studies on Dutch maps created

and used by the VOC and WIC provide important data, but focus more on cataloging the maps and their practical functions than on the interpretation of these maps within a cultural episteme.⁴⁴ In 2011, the *Grote Atlas van de Oude WIC* (Large Atlas of the First WIC) was published, but it, too, serves primarily as a comprehensive reference rather than interpretive critique, and is already out of print.⁴⁵ Only Roger Kain has explored how map production in the early modern period can be explained by the increasing commodification of land as political economies shifted from feudalism to state capitalism, and his focus has primarily been on English estate maps.⁴⁶ However much maps show these integrated concerns of the political, legal, and economic, they have not been investigated as visual evidence by art historians—disciplinary boundaries have, like the boundaries drawn on the maps in question, tied too many art historians to patterned and predictable methods of analysis.

The social ideals presented in the maps under examination here generally were based on a Christian humanist understanding of the world, learned by the Dutch elite at universities and applied to address their particular political and commercial interests. As Visscher's maps demonstrate, humanist notions of natural law are part of this system of rationalization that integrated politics of the nation-state, military force, and the efficiency required of capitalist enterprise, including mechanization and industrialization. The perception that profit (and conquest) was a gift of Providence was part of a belief system that also precipitated the anxiety discussed by Weber and analyzed by Schama (profit was also problematic in Catholic circles).⁴⁷ Certainly this anxiety was demonstrated in material culture, which included prints of work and labor, moralizing emblemata, and apologetics for the virtue to be had in trade and commerce, as we will see. In the seventeenth century, this providential Dutch exceptionalism rationalized accumulation and colonial ownership, to the annoyance of competing European nations, and of course, the indigenes abroad that were overwhelmed by a system in which they had little power, and subsequently were displaced or subjugated. It also legitimated the control of government—local, provincial, and federal—among wealthy individuals, including merchants. Dutch maps are visual evidence of how space was shaped by and was productive of culture: in this case, the rationalization and organization of a particular economic system.

With these case studies, I elucidate how the Dutch ideal was based in rationalist principles that Roman-Dutch law employed and also supported a logical and efficient, if inhumane, economic system of exploitation. The system, as Bourdieu and others understand it, reinforced social hierarchy

through various means. Here, I argue, one mechanism was the mainstream media published by Visscher. His maps showed rationalist, positivist logic in the way territory and history was presented. Textual and pictorial rhetoric legitimated profit by equating it with virtuous work and native Dutch industriousness and efficiency. The rationalization of maximizing profit elided the real human costs of sailors' lives, slaves' lives, and the lack of agency of laborers in mills, peasants who lost access to fish and fertilizer from the Beemster, colonists, and indigenous peoples abroad. Efficiency effected violence of all kinds.

Certainly, it is not necessarily fair to judge people by modern standards for ideas they articulated four hundred years ago. But these very same ideas continue to be called upon today and are used to argue the inevitability of the exploitation of humans working in unsafe conditions for paltry wages from Bangladesh to the Philippines to Honduras to even the United States. Notions of "development," improved technology, and providing jobs (however low-paying and unsafe) are shockingly trotted out over and over again to rationalize capitalism's imperative of constant growth and "efficiency." Slavery still exists, but it is no longer called by that name. Historical perspective may help shed light on the paucity of neoliberal capitalist ethics today.

How all these ideals and aspects come together is, in the rationalist episteme, one that capitalism and modern statecraft rely upon. That this confluence occurred in the Dutch Republic surely has to do with the context of that nation's own assertion of sovereignty and the movement of merchants with particular religious and political beliefs to urban centers in the north—all these elements of migration, economics, religion, and politics converged and functioned dynamically in the creation and continuous reproduction of a Dutch imagination of self, nation, and the way things are and should be. That is, an episteme of positivism rationalized the bureaucratic efficiencies of capitalist enterprise and liberal statecraft. Defining private property and individual agency was integral to these developments. As Kester writes in 2011,

The privileging of property as a precondition for public agency introduces a central tension into liberal discourse. On the one hand, the concept of the public challenges the stasis of social roles prescribed by divine right . . . but this openness can be sustained only so long as it is never fully tested: so long as the public sphere is limited to like-minded members of the same property-owning class. . . . Property introduces a second point of tension as well. The public actor enters into political exchange with commitment to acknowledge and respect the differences represented by other actors and with an implicit

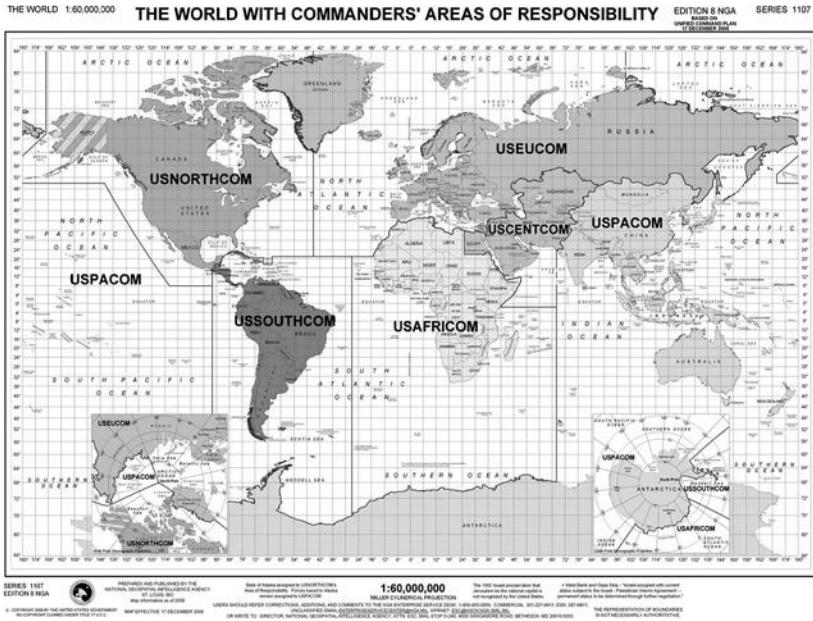
willingness to revise his or her own beliefs in response to these others and on behalf of a collective good. But the possession of property is premised on an unyielding self-interest and individualism.⁴⁸

The reality was that the public sphere, especially outside of Holland, was *not* limited to “like-minded members of the same property-owning class” as Grotius would have conceived it—but that the public included peat farmers in Holland; Portuguese planters and African slaves in Brazil; and mercenaries and traders of a variety of European cultural ethnicities and various Native Americans in New Netherland.

Visscher’s news maps were often unabashedly militaristic, purposefully lauding Dutch conquests against their Spanish, Portuguese, or later, English enemies. Deliberate visual organization continues to facilitate and project possession and power, as in the National Geospatial Agency’s US Command Centers map, where the thick black lines divide how the US military sees its control over the world (figure 1). The world is divided into regions labeled under a particular commanding unit of the United States military, which in turn, has a chain of command. Certainly military control is integrally linked to economic control, not unlike a government’s collection of taxes, districting of schools and voters, or in otherwise organizing the spaces of people’s lives into a legible and surveillable pattern.

The power of money in relation to space and politics is no less evident in urban centers of empire today. Indeed, human alienation is amplified by the big glass box skyscrapers such as those designed by Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, and others.⁴⁹ These vertical grids—or matrices—are today emblems of corporate power and control, highly visible in the landscape of cities. They were, however, designed idealistically to be structures reflecting new technologies and materials, and a new, modern and efficient way of life. The hundreds of levels of floors equate to the multiple levels of bureaucracy endemic to government and corporate structure and physically distance a person from other people on different levels, alienating him or her from actual human relationships. In creating efficient commercial access and centralized surveillance, people are increasingly distanced from other people. Floors create divisions and impediments to collaboration, as do fences and boundaries. Exclusivity, rather than inclusivity, is projected spatially. I explain this development by connecting Visscher’s maps to contemporary ideologies among the regent class, especially within Grotius’s jurisprudence and his idea of possession, exclusivity, and ownership.

I am not against idealism, government, or bureaucracy per se—but I am wary of the application of uncritical, presumptuous belief in “efficiency,”



1. The World with Commanders' Areas of Responsibility. National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency. Edition 8 NGA Series 1107. (Image in the public domain.) http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:U.S._Unified_Command_Plan_Map_2008-12-23.png.

"virtue," and "rationality" in a hegemonic, imperialist, and unconsidered fashion that occludes individual agency and local knowledge, and therefore can be "a powerful force for simplification and homogenization—where market-driven standardization might also be analogous to that of state-sponsored-enforced bureaucratic homogenization."⁵⁰ In other words, a wholly "rational" bottom-line approach to social structures, economies, and urban development occludes the possibility of a more organic, amorphous, dynamic, and multivocal presence of multiple realities. There can be no unity of opinion; there is no "one public." True democracy is subjective, local, and messy. It is, by definition, full of conflict because of the inherent difference of opinion from any number of voices, as the recent Occupy Movement or numerous anti-gentrification movements in Manhattan would show.⁵¹ Contemporary political theorist Chantal Mouffe, in fact, sees democracy as incompatible with the ideals of traditional liberalism, although the two have been conflated.⁵²

Unfortunately, the apparent triumph of capitalism around the world seems to further promote and privilege a univocal view of "the way things must be." Capitalism is now globalization—and capitalist, rationalist values

are spread via increasingly homogenized and uncritical media sources, and within the academy. Global capitalism is, perhaps, the biggest issue facing the discipline of art history—and potentially, signals the discipline's decline into irrelevance if "art" continues to be defined and studied as narrowly as it has been. Even while more cultures are being studied, artistic and scholarly legitimization is framed in monetary and status terms, and access to new knowledge is hampered by the exclusivity reinforced by institutional walls, paywalls, jargon, and rank. Alternatively, globalization can engender reactions that highlight the local, the collaborative, and the potentially subversive creativity in art as well as written criticism provided freely online and in social media and open, egalitarian spaces.⁵³

In the following chapters, I examine an authoritative, mainstream cultural product (printed maps) legitimated and valued by the state, its corporate arms, and individual elites working dynamically within the system. Maps were directly and explicitly commissioned by elite merchants, governing officials, and corporate bodies alike. All were unified by their interest to further communal, nationalistic, and individual financial ambitions. In this way, these maps, although four hundred years old, are not very far removed from the visual culture of late capitalist imperialism today.

Chapter Outlines

I have attempted to sketch very complex concepts and theories above in order to provide the scaffolding for my interpretive case studies in the chapters that follow. This has only been meant as a skeletal framework around which to reconstruct the context of particular maps of Amsterdam, New Holland, and New Netherland, and I hope that the notes will direct interested readers to where they may investigate particular subjects more deeply. I specifically focus on the American colonies because they were the areas about which Visscher published maps; he did not publish single-sheet maps of VOC territories. As we will see, Visscher's publication of these news maps was directly related to the aims of Amsterdam merchant investors and the Amsterdam Chamber of the WIC. That Visscher also propagated numerous maps and views of Amsterdam correspondingly reflects the rise of Amsterdam and its merchant regent class interests. In the next chapter, "Amsterdam Society and Maps," I lay out the consumer demand for maps in early seventeenth-century Amsterdam. Production of and demand for maps reflected social concerns about status and contemporary events. I argue that maps helped form a picture of a unified nation, as well as allowed individuals to distinguish themselves through display. The background of social organization,

government, and commercial company structures is my attempt to separate the threads of agency within the system.

Chapter 3, "Capitalism and Cartography in Amsterdam," focuses on the printed maps that documented and celebrated the growth of the city of Amsterdam as an economic center. I pay special attention to the Beemster project in order to explore the development of cultural and legal conceptions of private property, industry, and civic duty. I also draw upon additional published maps of the city that pictorially emphasize Amsterdam's role as a global emporium and establish the land as historically significant to the young nation. These published maps reflect contemporary humanist thoughts about rational organization of space, bounded and exclusive property; government, industry, and the relationship between the virtuous citizen and state; and state and industry that developed from capitalist expansionism.

In the fourth chapter, "Profit and Possession in Brazil," I explore the WIC's short-lived control of Brazil. The maps of Brazil published by Visscher and Joan Blaeu present a synthesis of Dutch military, commercial, and colonial success for the WIC. Visual cues evinced legal possession and economic stability. They defined cities and open land available for cultivation; waterways for transport, defense, and power; and stands of brazilwood and fields of sugar cane being made into commodities by the tools of human industry. These prints corroborated Dutch claims to the land and its resources by visually engaging Grotius's theory of possession. The maps and associated views emphasized ownership by depicting land as being controlled by the technologies employed for government and commerce.

Chapter 5, "Marketing New Amsterdam" uses Visscher's famous map of New Netherland with profile view of New Amsterdam, and the reprint of it in a small book of Adriaen van der Donck's *Description of New Netherland*, to discuss how the WIC wanted New Amsterdam to be seen in the defining years of the city's growth. In these maps the profile significantly contributed to the marketing of New Amsterdam as comparable to Amsterdam, with similar legal and commercial rights and privileges. These views, which continued into the eighteenth century after New Amsterdam became New York, presented the city as a civilized settlement and significant trade center. I shed light on the context of these printed maps within the scope of the WIC's negotiations with colonists in the years leading up to New Amsterdam's city charter and Amsterdam publishers' desire to profit from these events. Moreover, I add the role of visual media to the discussion of how colonists at New Amsterdam and WIC directors used the European city as a model to negotiate for their respective roles.

In the final chapter, I summarize the themes advanced in chapters 2 through 5, and suggest how the issues exemplified in Dutch printed maps still resonate today in our globalized world. Even if Dutch merchants and members of their governing bodies did not initially intend to colonize, the need to expand for the economic growth fundamental to the capitalist system required them to legitimate their claims to possession of land, the exploitation of labor, and control of industrial processes. The printed map was a commodity, created by print publishers based on state-sponsored corporations' intelligence, commissioned by those bodies, or sold by the publisher on the open market. As the enforcibility of Dutch power in the global economy waxed and waned over the century, maps became increasingly important products in the print market.

Writing this book has been a labor of love, as critical as the preceding paragraphs may seem. It is my subjective vocalization about culture and its creation, through a historical lens, in order to shed light on my own culture and identity: relatively young, female, white, bourgeois, employed in the US academy. The form itself reflects what academic elite culture values at this point in time: independent scholarship, close study of objects, printed text, analytical and critical narrative. Still, my critical analyses are presented with hope, and I hope my interpretation suggests an example of the varieties of experience that we each can bring to help shape a social future where voices are heard not only from printed discourse in the academy or from mainstream media, but from the street and parks and oceans as well. I hope to have made my biases clear here—and I hope that the following arguments and examples elicit continued discourse, however messy.

Unless otherwise indicated in the notes, the Dutch translations are my own. I often compared my translation to other English translations, as noted. Latin translations were generously provided by Jonathan Sutton. I have provided the original Dutch or Latin in the notes for scholars interested in the original text.

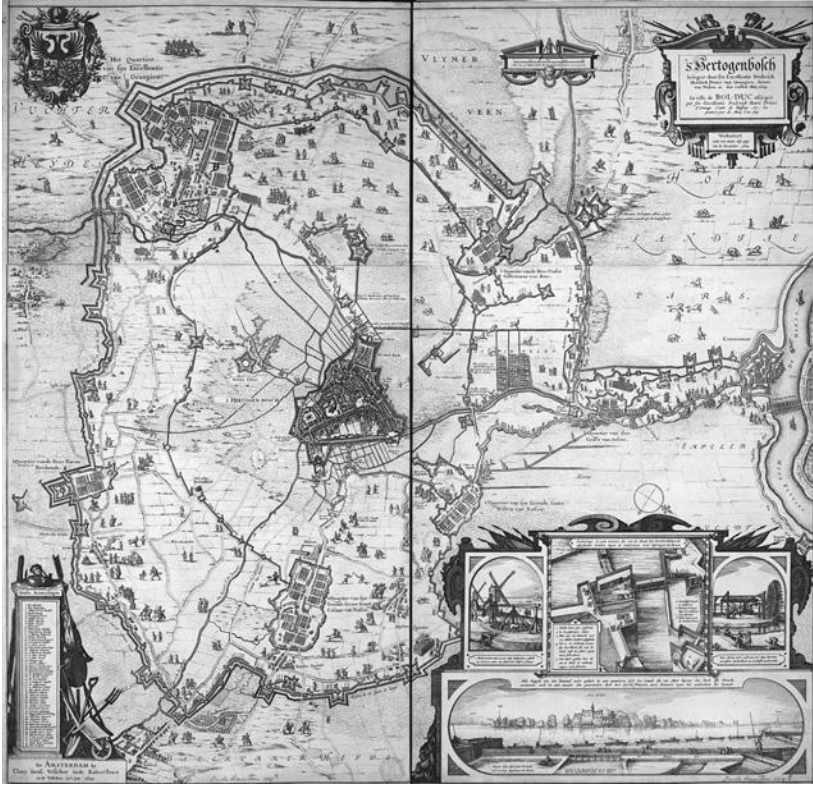
TWO

Amsterdam Society and Maps

Thanks very much for the maps of 's Hertogenbosch. . . . I hope they will be useful both to me and the public.¹

—Hugo Grotius, letter to Caspar Barlaeus, 31 August 1631

The news map of stadholder Frederik Hendrik's four-month siege of 's Hertogenbosch April through September of 1629 was published in multiple states, with and without letterpress text, by Claes Jansz Visscher (figure 2). It trumpeted the major offensive of Frederik Hendrik and his allies against the Spanish-held city of 's Hertogenbosch, in the southern province Brabant. Evidently, maps of the siege were eagerly anticipated: both newsweeklies publishers Broer Jansz and Jan van Hilten printed advertisements for Jodocus Hondius II's version in May, and the update by Henricus Hondius in 1630.² Visscher, like his competitors, published multiple states of the map, having obtained plates from the other publishers, and adding to them as developments occurred.³ Visscher took pains to use the topographical map that the official *legermeter* (military surveyor) had drawn and whose publication Count Ernst Casimir of Nassau had authorized, and in the fourth state, he added the inset of wind and wheel-mill technology to show how the Dutch used their superior hydraulic engineering to defeat the enemy.⁴ Visscher specialized in this format of a topographical layout, profiles of the captured city, and insets of the technologies used for efficient and effective domination. Moreover, he added text to the military plans, further authenticating the visual information he printed and thereby increasing the maps desirability as a news source. Visscher's maps repeated an authorized military message, legitimated through claims to being from life and based on official sources and texts. Standardized thus, they helped create a sense of unity in an ideologically diverse and divided nation. The successes of the Republic were pictured along with the institutions, leaders, and technology that made them. In so doing, Visscher reinforced values and practices that



2. Claes Jansz Visscher, “s-Hertogenbosch under siege by His Excellency Frederick Hendrick Prince of Orange, Count of Nassau, May, 1629,” 2 sheets, 75.5 x 78 cm together. Special Collections, University of Amsterdam, OTM: HB-KZL O.K. 104 A-B.

reflected contemporary Roman-Dutch jurisprudence, military spatial organization, and the rationalist episteme that supported them.

The interrelation between maps, mercantilism, and government is significant because all contributed to the definition and continued redefinition of the structure of and power relations in society. In the Dutch Republic, commerce and governance were intricately linked: the wealthy oligarchy held control of both. The seventeenth century saw the establishment of state-chartered monopoly companies as well as civic improvements (such as land reclamation) undertaken by merchant capitalists who also held positions in government.⁵ Although an emphasis on local autonomy was retained from

medieval times, real political power increasingly was held by urban merchants rather than land-owning farmers or lords. Amsterdam, as the urban center of the province of Holland, thus often had a strong presence even in the States General. The internal structures of both government and commercial bodies required social relationships of informal and formal discussion, which sometimes made governance slow and cumbersome. Companies and government were expressively social organizations where much of the business happened in meetings.⁶ The presentation to the public of a single message—be it militaristic, political, or commercial—helped calcify the power of the elite as a whole, even while within the upper echelons that power was constantly being negotiated. The interdependence between levels of government, governments and commercial companies, and the overlap of the individuals who led them made the Dutch Republic unique in seventeenth-century Europe. This integration often created tensions because of contested jurisdictions and competing desires for control and expansion of economic power and resources.⁷ In other words, although the Dutch Republic rose to global hegemonic status, this was not a monolithic state hegemony, but a multi-dimensional network of individuals and the institutions in which they wielded power, dynamically creating and recreating themselves and attempting to project their authority and views, both in person in meetings of council, or as examined here, through printed rhetoric.

The Market for Maps

Maps on display showed pride in place, and the individual's role in it. There was certainly a market for printed maps in seventeenth-century Netherlands. While it is now well known that landscapes were the most common painting genre in the early modern Netherlands (rising from 11 percent to 25 percent of paintings listed in inventories between 1620 and 1650⁸), printed maps must have been even more popularly consumed. They are, of course, more fragile and ephemeral, and may not always have been recorded in inventories. Some maps were hung on walls in single- or multi-sheet monumental form, and were more likely to be listed in notarized documents, while others were bound in books and atlases, or kept loose or in packets. Maps provided information, and could exhibit an owner's erudition and political awareness. Students and scholars required maps for their studies; for example, it is clear from hundreds of letters that maps and plans were an important source of information for Hugo Grotius while he was away from Holland, and that he also considered them an important part of his son's education.⁹ Dutch people decorated their homes and work places with both prints and

paintings of local and overseas topographical subjects. Frederik Hendrik, stadholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, and Overijssel (in office 1625–47), decorated his palaces with topographic paintings, many of which were based on map prototypes. The VOC and WIC Company offices displayed an estimated ten to sixty topographical maps and paintings by the 1660s as well.¹⁰ The association of maps to knowledge and power is shown in later seventeenth-century genre paintings as well, from well-known works by Vermeer, to Cornelis de Man's portrait of a young scholar, and paintings of tavern interiors. De Man's painting, now in a private collection, shows a richly furnished interior, with a man in a robe opening a box next to a large folio book partially covered by a velvet cloth.¹¹ On the wall behind him is Visscher's 1648 map of Recife (discussed in chapter 4); a shell and tea pot sit on the mantel to indicate the man's collection of naturalia and exotica that rounds out his knowledge from books and maps.¹² Similarly, Jacob Duck's painting of a tavern interior shows Visscher's 1630 map of Brazil on the wall behind gathered patrons.¹³ The low cost of prints relative to paintings, and the variety of formats available for printed maps provided those with disposable cash access to this form of patriotic, erudite, and commercial decoration. Savvy publishers had various versions of similar subjects, often in different sizes and at different price points, to appeal to a variety of consumers.¹⁴ Indeed, inventories suggest that maps were consumed across Dutch society. The availability of information via publishing helped to promote particular nationalistic, commercial, and moral values of the new Republican society as defined by the powerful Amsterdam elite.

Wealthy individuals, as well as city councils, provincial councils, and other public bureaus like polder councils (*waterschappen*, discussed in chapter 3) might commission maps for various purposes, from organizing tax registers (cadastral maps), to navigation or display of ownership. Publishers also used their connections to elites in government and company positions to obtain information and create maps for sale on the open market. The norm for print publishers in Amsterdam was to absorb the cost of publication and hope to make sales, so freshness of content and form was important. Sometimes, dedications might be made to seek gifts to help in publication costs. Privileges helped publishers maintain their niche by establishing authorization to print certain content and by theoretically precluding other publishers from selling competing copies. Indeed, official sanction would have helped a publisher sell more. Authentication from an official body like the States General was one way to distinguish and sell product; another was by obtaining sensitive information. Such military and trading data was supposed to be secret, surrendered to the officials or company directors by the

commanding officers. Commissioned maps were a tangible way to project the power and authority of the individual or commissioning body and to underscore its interests. At the same time, the WIC, prince or whatever body endorsing the map obtained the cultural power of popular recognition from a uniform message. Although many of the manuscript maps produced by company surveyors or military officials were ostensibly classified, well-timed printed news maps could fuel nationalist solidarity and spark interest and participation in overseas trade and domestic investment projects, as will be demonstrated by the examples in this book. That the source for information about 's Hertogenbosch sent to Grotius requested to remain anonymous if Grotius published it indicates the manner in which news traveled and could be strategically shared.¹⁵ Of course, since leaks can be critical of official power, it behooved each power, be it the WIC, stadholder, or States General, to take control of their respective public image.¹⁶

The wide popularity of maps is indicated by inventories and catalogs. The late economic historian John Michael Montias searched 1,280 inventories in the municipal archives of Amsterdam, ranging in date from 1597 to 1681 for visual material objects. These notarial, orphan chamber, and bankruptcy inventories include some 51,071 paintings, prints, maps, and globes, and are searchable online through the Frick Art Reference Library.¹⁷ Most inventories and catalogs do not specify the subject of maps, but maps are listed in the inventories of individuals from across occupations and dates. Some inventories list a valuation of the maps, although many do not. They show a range of values from twenty guilders for a view of Amsterdam, five copies of which are listed in the death inventory of Pieter van den Keere from 1623, to values of less than one guilder per map, as in the inventory of Symon Thonisz from 1635, or the inventories of WIC director Mathijs van Ceulen from 1631 and 1644.¹⁸ In van Ceulen's death inventory from 1644, a map of Recife, possibly Visscher's 1630 wall map, is valued at one and half guilders, as is a generically titled map of Brazil and a map of the Rio Grande (the latter may be Visscher's 1634 map of Paraíba). It is not surprising that van den Keere, a mapmaker himself, and van Ceulen, a WIC director, owned maps. However, barber surgeons, brewers, grain merchants, and widows also owned maps.¹⁹ As we saw in the painting by Jacob Duck, the 1630 map of Pernambuco with views of Olinda and Recife (also discussed in chapter 4) is displayed in a tavern interior with upper-middle-class patrons drinking beer and conversing at tables below. Indeed, that many maps seem to have sold for well under one guilder—usually just a few stuivers—made maps some of the most affordable visual objects for sale.

Maps for sale are also documented in the estate auction catalogs of pub-

lishers and print sellers such as Cornelis Claesz from 1610, Jan Jansz Orlers from 1646, and the price list of Nicolaes Visscher II, from 1682.²⁰ These catalogs can also serve as a reference for prices, as well as suggest which maps continued to be sold over time, indicating the popularity of particular subjects. The auction catalog for Orlers does not include prices for his packets of “various maps,” but Nicolaes Visscher’s list shows a range of prices and subjects for maps available from his family’s shop.²¹ Single-sheet plan maps of European territories and old news events, like the siege of ’s Hertogenbosch, could be as little as three stuivers, while city prospect and profile views, typically in four sheets, were ten stuivers (perhaps per sheet, but this is not indicated).²² The polder map of the Purmer reclamation in four sheets, originally printed by Claes Jansz Visscher in 1622 is listed for one guilder, as are other multi-sheet maps of then-historical sieges (listed at twenty stuivers each, the equivalent of one guilder). Large plan maps of Dutch cities, in six sheets, with buildings indicated, ranged from forty to sixty stuivers, or two to three guilders. The grandest maps of more than fifteen sheets ranged between three and five guilders. Typically prices correlated with size and quality—larger, multi-sheet maps required more time and labor for engraving or etching, more copper for the plates, and more paper.

Visscher’s entrepreneurial spirit is suggested by the fact that his name is the most frequent of the cartographers listed in the advertisements published by Broer Jansz and Jan van Hilten in their respective news corantos, published weekly in Amsterdam as folios printed on both sides. From Between 1624 and 1648, Jansz and Hilten published at least twenty advertisements for Visscher’s maps.²³ The advertisements suggest Visscher and his workshop’s quick production pace (facilitated by etching versus engraving), as well as his possible insider knowledge that allowed him to get a head start.²⁴ Most of the advertisements are for maps military in nature, including some of his Brazilian maps, although Visscher also advertised general maps of the Netherlands and biblical maps.²⁵ Three of the advertisements specifically note the authority vested in Visscher by the WIC, the Prince of Orange via his *legermeter*, or the States General, by granting publishing privilege.²⁶ By focusing on current events, Visscher’s maps of military sieges and battles provided a pictorial complement to the news Broer Jansz and Hilten sought to sell. Each helped to establish the authority of the other, and together, the authority of the official source of information. The wording of the advertisements name the sources that made the map legitimate news—indicating that the publishers, at least, thought this official sanction significant, especially in a highly competitive market.

Of course, establishing authority was important at a time when political

divisiveness was the status quo. The politics in the Republic were anything but homogenous, and even while Visscher attempted to project a unified, official view, there was no consensus among the wealthy oligarchy—far from it. One of the important aspects—and difficulties—of unified “Dutch” identity construction is the fragmented political, religious, and class-based identities of citizens of the Republic. A minority of Dutch people were devout Calvinists, although after 1619 Calvinism (Reformed) became the official state religion. Many remained Catholic, and others subscribed to more moderate forms of Protestantism than the official Dutch Reformed Church. Visscher followed Calvin’s teachings, and was closely associated with a circle of other strict Calvinists at the Nieuwe Kerk.²⁷ Willem Blaeu (1571–1638), Caspar Barlaeus (1584–1648), and Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) were famous Remonstrants—broad-minded humanists who followed Leiden theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609) in embracing a more liberal form of the doctrine of predestination. Even while Visscher’s printed output suggests his Orangist leanings, he was still a tradesman in Amsterdam seeking to profit from as wide a consumer base as possible. Although he and Grotius may have been religiously, politically, and socioeconomically on different planes, the unity of the state as a whole was a common concern. Divisiveness along provincial as well as religious lines had widespread implications for the nation as a whole—at the same time that hatred of Spanish tyranny and desire for independence and profit were commonly held values. Despite numerous disagreements, what tied politicians and prominent individuals together was their wealth, love of freedom, and desire to advance economically as a city, as a province, and as a country. Visscher’s maps condensed and clarified these desires to present a unified picture of the country, based on the perceived virtue of commercial and military action for the good of the whole.

Organization of Government and the WIC

A brief sketch of government and commercial company structure will help explain the significance of divisible sovereignty and its corresponding social, political, and economic implications. The Dutch Republic (Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, as it was officially called) was a confederation of seven northern Netherlandish provinces. The provinces, based on prior feudal organization, included the duchy of Guelders, the counties of Holland and Zeeland, the former bishopric of Utrecht, the lordship of Overijssel, and the provinces of Friesland and Groningen. In 1579, these provinces conjoined under the Union of Utrecht, promising to support each

other against Spain. In 1581, the seven provinces together declared their sovereignty and separation from Spanish king Philip II. The Republic was a decentralized nation-state where the provinces and cities retained local jurisdictions, each having governing mayors (*burgemeesteren*), courts with magistrates (*schepenen*), and in cities, city councils (*vroedschappen*) and bailiffs (*schouten*). The distribution of powers in the early Republic shaped how it functioned. Governance was often unwieldy because of the number of channels through which resolutions had to pass, often slowing official reaction to current events.

Each part of the governmental structure was dependent on another for legitimation. The provinces contributed one regent each to serve in the States General and to vote, although any number of representatives from a province could attend meetings in The Hague. The sovereignty of the provincial states was dependent on the magistrates of the cities, and the stadholder of a province had to be elected by its regents. The stadholder of Holland was usually appointed stadholder by the other provinces as well, and was theoretically subordinate to the States General. The stadholder was traditionally the head of the army and navy, and the navy was maintained by admiralties from each province or large city; however, the stadholder commanded military action at the behest of the States General.

Regents governed at each level: municipal (for example, the burgomasters of Amsterdam), provincial (regents for the States of Holland), and federal (their High Mightinesses of the States General). Given the weak executive structure and the necessity to delegate business for detailed review, the proceedings of the States General were often dominated by Holland's grand pensionary, or chief advocate (*lands advocaat*). Holland was the largest province, and contributed over half of the federal budget, so it had substantial clout in the States General. Correspondingly, Amsterdam's power at the provincial and federal levels was also considerable. Amsterdam provided as much as 25 percent of the federal budget via its significant contribution to the budget of the States of Holland. Moreover, as an information depot with canals and easy transport, representatives from Amsterdam typically had access to the most current news, making their rhetoric more authoritative in meetings.

At the municipal level, burgomasters were in command of the civic guard and any troops stationed in the city. They appointed city functionaries such as the regents of orphanages and the almshouses for the elderly, the captains of the companies of the civic guard, and any vacant posts. They controlled the budget of the city, deciding what projects and institutions would be funded. In Amsterdam, the four burgomasters also kept the key

to the Wisselbank, the Bank of Amsterdam, and one burgomaster had to be present to open the vaults. The thirty-six men serving on the *vroedschap* advised the burgomasters. Because Amsterdam was the most populous and rich city in the Republic, it not only provided the province of Holland with the most representatives to the States General, but the Amsterdam chambers of the state-backed commercial companies also largely controlled company affairs.

The VOC, founded in 1602, and WIC, founded in 1621, were set up each with a head council of elected directors from provincial seats. Chartered by the federal body of the States General, they were given the authority to act as sovereign bodies, entering into treaties and claiming territory. They were chartered not only for trade, but also war and colonization. Because of the political context of its birth in the aftermath of the Synod of Dort (1618–19), conviction for treason of Grand Pensionary of Holland Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1619), and the end of the twelve-year truce with Spain (1621), the WIC, much more so than the VOC, was conceived as an entity concerning the unity and well-being of the entire Republic.²⁸

The WIC was divided into five chambers, correspondent in power to the initial capital invested by those municipalities and their surrounding communities, as well as each area's respective political influence within the country as a whole. Each chamber had wide decision-making powers and elected its own directors. Chambers kept their own accounts, outfitted their own fleets and trading expeditions, and could establish their own colonies; in effect, each chamber could compete with the other chambers abroad, even while all contributing to the stock of the WIC, overseen by the elected representatives from the chambers, the *Heren XIX*. The "nineteen gentlemen" served the central body, and the number of representatives from each local chamber was based on the percentage of that chamber's subscribed capital. The Amsterdam chamber held four-ninths of WIC stock, Zeeland (Middelburg) held two-ninths, The Maas (Rotterdam), North-Quarter (Hoorn and West Friesland), and Friesland-Groningen each owned one-ninth of WIC stock. Although Amsterdam investors were initially wary of contributing to a company they worried would be hamstrung by military efforts (and which had decidedly Orangist foundations),²⁹ it did not take long for Amsterdam to become the most powerful of the chambers, and Amsterdam held eight of the nineteen director positions. As outlined in its charter, the company was to combat Iberian power at sea by undermining Spanish and Portuguese trade and debilitating their ships. Conquest of land also undermined Iberian imperial designs, and colonies were part of the Dutch trading companies' chartered aims. The companies were given jurisdiction by the States

General over territories they conquered. Company control of colonies was relegated to chambers, and subcommittees within chambers. New Netherland, for example, was overseen by the Amsterdam chamber, in which there was a special committee particular to the colony's governance and affairs.

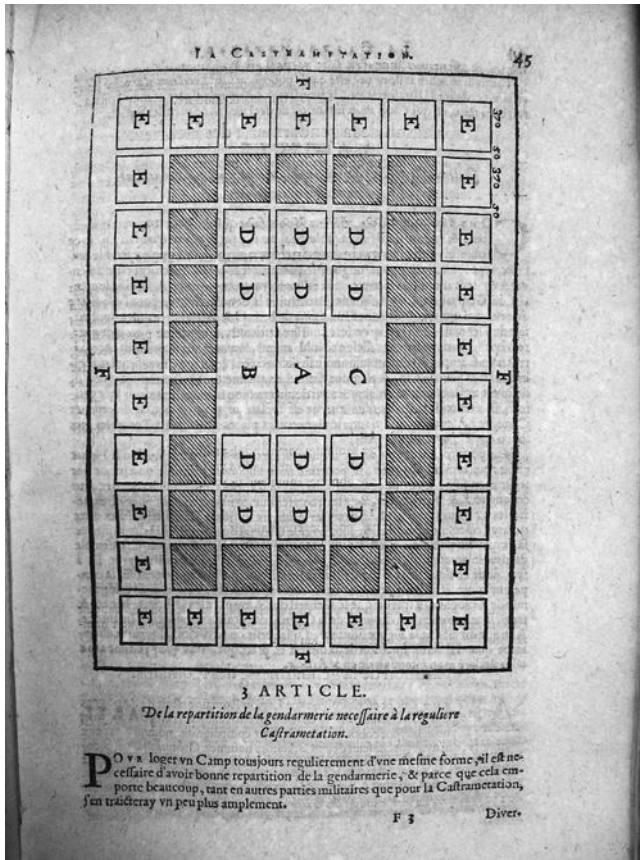
Pictorial and Intellectual Foundations

Since he first established his own print publishing firm in 1608, Visscher's facility as a draftsman and figural artist set him apart in the highly competitive print- and map-publishing market. Visscher was and still is known for his news maps. He had learned his trade from the first generation of Amsterdam cartographers such as Jodocus Hondius and Willem Blaeu, and he built upon this early training by combining geographical information and figurative detail in his maps. Visscher's maps are the result of a process of commercial refinement in mapmaking and publishing that had begun in the last quarter of the sixteenth century in Antwerp, and continued in Amsterdam by Hondius, Blaeu, and Cornelis Claesz.³⁰ Visscher cultivated his facility with pictorial cartography by working for Hondius and Blaeu during the first decade of the seventeenth century. He had worked on Blaeu's twenty-plate map of the world, etching the decorations designed by David Vinckboons.³¹ After his time with Blaeu, Visscher continued to be involved in the production of large maps of the world, for which he etched various views and plans of cities and inhabitants. In 1610 he executed decorated maps of the provinces of Holland and Zeeland for Pieter van den Keere, Hondius's brother-in-law, and there are extant sketches by Visscher of town views of Haarlem and Enkhuizen. Visscher etched the entire decorative program of the map of the world published by van den Keere and Dirck Pietersz Pers in 1611.³² Early investigations of the landscape further refined his topographical and figural capabilities.³³

That Visscher chose to open his own shop on the Kalverstraat—a particularly excellent location for selling news maps and market information, near the center of business at the Dam and Bourse, and not far from the WIC *packhuys* (warehouse), where meetings of the Amsterdam chamber were held—demonstrates his awareness of the commercial arena of Amsterdam and consumers' potential desire and need for accurate information as well as his acuity in responding quickly to current events. The years around 1610 were a period of intense competition among print publishers in Amsterdam. It was also a time of economic development, and political wrangling. Claesz died in 1609, and much of his inventory was sold to other print publishers, including Visscher.³⁴ In 1612, Jodocus Hondius I died, leav-

ing his son and son-in-law Jan Janssonius to battle against Blaeu to be the top print publisher in Amsterdam. Moreover, the contentious twelve-year truce between Spain and the Republic brokered by van Oldenbarnevelt had gone into effect in 1609, while drainage of the Beemster Lake provided merchants a domestic investment opportunity. Visscher managed to negotiate the rivalries between the Blaeu and Janssonius firms and political party lines; indeed, he benefited from them. He must have been stimulated by the constant back and forth of pictorial ideas, and spurred to innovate by the competition and dynamic politics. Even more than his competitors, Visscher printed maps and images that addressed contemporary political and economic developments.³⁵ He had one of the largest stocks of prints of any publisher of his day, with around one thousand prints created in his shop, and another thousand printed from secondhand plates.³⁶ As we saw in the example of 's Hertogenbosch, Visscher obtained many map plates from the liquidation of other publishers' inventory and probably by renting plates for prints already on the market. Using these plates to respond quickly to events, he updated and augmented them to present new information as he learned it. Throughout his career, he also had access to government sources of military and other current events, initially from Company cartographer Hessel Gerritszoon.

The founder of the Republic's first surveying school, and quartermaster to stadholder Maurits was Simon Stevin (1548–1620). His conception of military castra and their relation to the ideal city provides an important schema for understanding Visscher's military maps as well as his maps of colonies and reclaimed land. Stevin is well known as an inventor of windmill technology used for land reclamation, along with Jan Adriaensz Leeghwater (1575–1650), in addition to playing an important role in establishing a practical school of engineering and in defining the curriculum for government and military *landmeteren* (surveyors).³⁷ Stevin laid out his plans for an efficient military camp in *Castrametatio, dat is legermeting* (Castrametation, that is, army surveying, 1617) and for the ideal city in the chapter "Vande oirdeningh der steden" (On the organization of cities, from his *Materiae politicae*, 1649) (figures 3 and 4). Although the *Materiae politicae* was not published until 1649, Stevin probably developed both manuscripts as part of his tutorial program for Prince Maurits (1567–1625). He was quartermaster for Maurits since 1593, and his ideas informed the curriculum for the Duytsche Mathematique, the engineering school founded at Leiden by Maurits in 1600.³⁸ Stevin's plans for the ideal city derived from his designs for castra, and though most cities in the Netherlands were not built according to his plans, they did influence the design for Mauristsstad, in Brazil,



3. "De la repartition de la gendarmerie . . .," p. 45 in Simon Stevin, *Castrametatio* (Leiden: Elsevier, 1618). A: General's quarters. B: A place for daily business with the General. C: Market. D: Various quarters for the officers, artillery, war munitions, chariots, forage, foreigners, and others. E: Infantry regiments; the black marks the cavalry regiments. F: Street 50 feet wide. James Ford Bell Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota. (Author photo.)

and possibly the proposed layout of plots around Fort Amsterdam in New Netherland, discussed in the following chapters.³⁹

Stevin's ideal designs and methods for mathematical and rational surveys were important for the visual and rationalist conception of the new state. Wim Nijenhuis has examined Stevin's designs within the context of Dutch political science, examining them as artifacts of an archaeology of knowledge construction at the turn of the seventeenth century. Indeed, they show how Stevin's emphasis on mathematical foundations corresponded

with contemporary legal and military rationalism. In Nijenhuis's interpretation, the politics of Stevin, Prince Maurits, and neo-Stoic philosopher Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) are related.⁴⁰ Nijenhuis explains that the episteme of Stevin's military encampments and ideal city differ from the Renaissance ideal city in that the focus is not on proportionality or resemblance of parts, but rather on the divisibility of a whole to create regularized order—an episteme of *mathesis*, or universal science of measure and order, which according to Nijenhuis, promoted the dominance and central authority of the state. Stevin's castra plan is a rectangle divided into sub-rectangles—it is a division of a homogenous whole.⁴¹ Significantly, the divisibility of a homogenous whole visualized in Stevin's grid plans for castra and cities parallels the divisible sovereignty that characterized Dutch governance by a sovereign (the *stadhouder*) who shared power with the electorate of the provinces, altogether under the jurisdiction of a federation of elected officials from the provinces—their High Mightinesses of the States General.

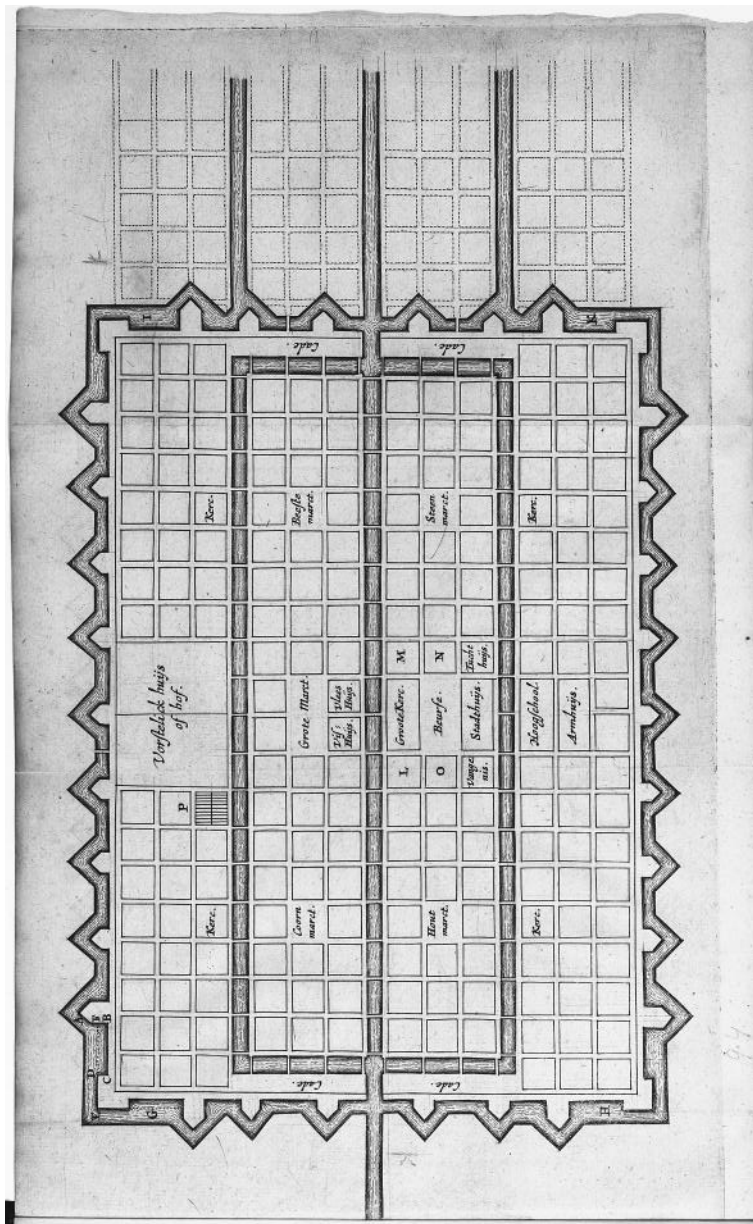
The military, state, and companies alike used the grid as an efficient tool for organization and control—as military castra or cadastral tax plans for new polders or colonial cities. Visscher's maps perpetuated this sense of order visually, despite the fact that the dynamic of power between the States General and overseas merchant companies was often fraught with the competing goals and personalities of elected officials and company directors. Divisibility had implications not only for unity, but also for claiming land and presenting it as the nation's. The stadholder, vested with authority from the States General, commanded most military operations on the home front, and merchant companies acting abroad also had military power obtained from charters granted by the States General. Company governor generals were appointed with their and the company board's approval, and these appointments could be hard to fill, or contested by members of the board.⁴² Thus, while claiming land abroad was blatantly nationalistic, commercial, and militaristic, the commercial and political links to land claims at home were less obvious. Land was claimed, but by merchants through drainage projects, unsurprisingly first begun during a period of peace.

By controlling how and who used land, social dynamics could be controlled. Indeed, Nijenhuis suggests this *mathesis* was linked to Lipsius's neo-Stoic philosophies of ethical governance articulated in *De constantia libri duo* (1584) and *Politicorum sive civilis doctrinae libri sex* (1589), and Stevin's own earlier treatise on political action, *het Burgerlijke Leven* (*Life of Citizenship*, 1590). According to Nijenhuis, the *Materiae politicae*'s chapter on cities was not a practical planning manual, but rather a complementary treatise on social organization that emphasized the citizen's obedience to the rules

of life as defined by the state and its laws. Nijenhuis explains: "In essence, *Vande oirdeninghe der steden* (on the ordering of cities) proposed nothing other than to turn the city into a military encampment, which many at the time believed, looked like a city in peacetime."⁴³ This is clear in the accompanying illustration (figure 4).

Similar to gridded castra, Roman cities were planned with two distinct axes, one north-south, the other east-west, each with gates at the end. In Stevin's model, these areas were enclosed by a fortification wall that had bastions at regular intervals. The addition of these bastions and their specific placement to aid in sight lines was one of Stevin's major contributions to defensive building. He also introduced the use of water as a defense mechanism—sluices could control water to flood enemies, and to create moats that cut off the city as necessary—a tactic frequently used in the Netherlands, including at the siege of 's Hertogenbosch (figure 2).⁴⁴ Stevin advocated that town plans be based on a grid for the purpose of defense and civic and commercial utility. In Stevin's ideal city, canals intersect the ground plan. The settlement is formed by two squares that were to be the market and Bourse. Correspondingly, the fishmongers, butchers, and other artisans were to be located around the big market square.⁴⁵ The town hall, main church, and community home would be on the blocks by the Bourse, with the college, and the house for the poor and orphans adjacent and hidden from immediate view. Plots were also included for denominations other than the official Calvinism, perhaps suggesting the importance of tolerance in an urban space, as well as the importance of controlling and surveilling those populations. The canals created checkpoints for incoming and exiting ships (and thus tolls and duties levied and control on trade), and created a form of sewer system. The two squares clearly underscored the purpose of commerce as the livelihood of the inhabitants in an urban settlement. As we will see, although Stevin's ideal was a point of reference for planners, because of distinct local topographies, existing structures, and social concerns, the plan necessarily was modified in Amsterdam's colonial cities' growth.

In *De constantia*, Lipsius outlined how individuals should adhere to moral steadfastness in difficult times. The *Politicorum* is more clearly a treatise on just governance, which, in Lipsius's conception, is a government unified by one religion and led by an absolute monarch. Both texts are politically grounded theoretical treatises, where the state, its regents or ruler, citizens, and institutions are committed to the ethics of neo-Stoicism and logic of natural law. Just one year after Lipsius, Stevin's *het Burgerlijke Leven* augmented and responded to Lipsius's ideas for the citizen. He explained

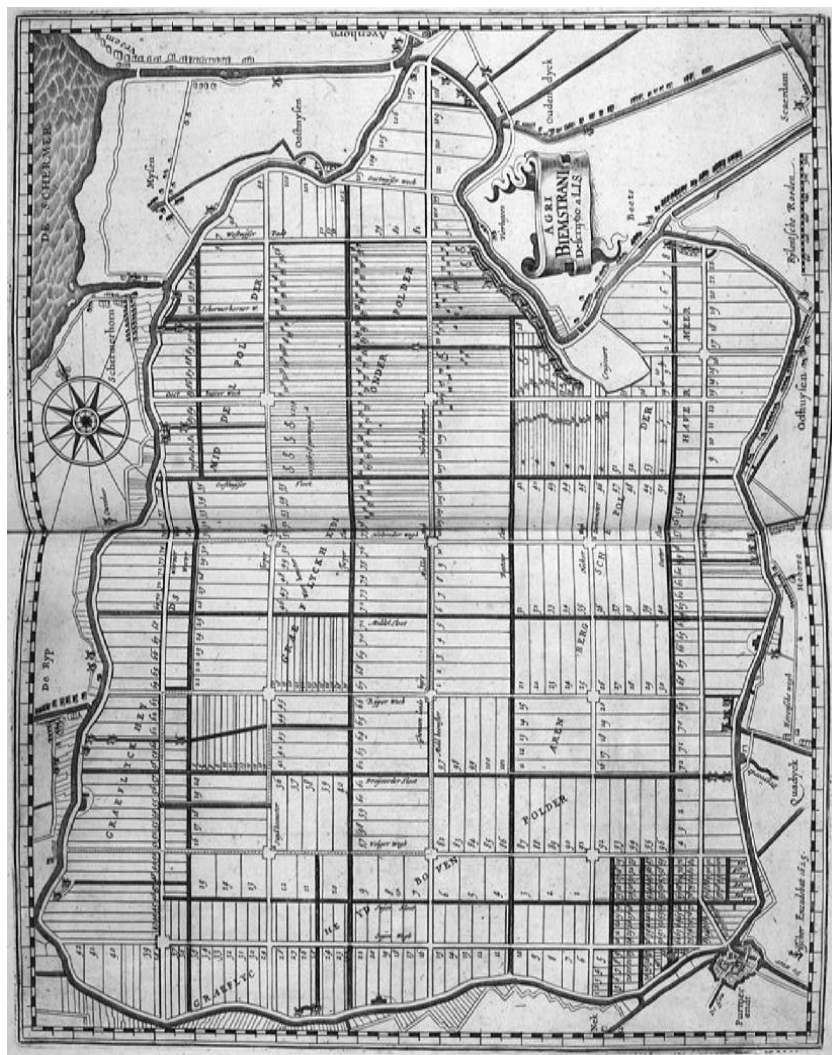


4. Simon Stevin, plan for the ideal city, in *Materiae politicae: burgerlijke stoffen* . . . (Leiden: Iustus Livius, 1649). Special Collections, University of Amsterdam. OTM: O 63-8319 (1).

the means by which inhabitants safeguard their community by following the rules and regulations of the state; he also discussed what makes a legitimate government, how to choose sides between monarch and States General in domestic conflicts, how government should conduct itself, how citizens should react to unpopular laws, and how to conform to religious practice. The state is conceived as a relative system that is dependent on the relationships between its constituent parts—monarch, States General, and citizens. This rationalized organization of government and society was, in turn, reflected in maps, especially Stevin's grid. Written in Dutch and published by the same publisher as Lipsius, Stevin must have conceived it as a response to the great scholar's work.⁴⁶ These treatises all indicate scholars' desire to define, order, and organize spaces and social relationships for a new kind of society.

These ideas would have been influential to the young Hugo Grotius. Lipsius was at Leiden for eleven years between 1579 and 1590, during which time he prepared annotations of Seneca and Tacitus. His superior knowledge of the ancient Stoics allowed him to weave together Christian and Stoic principles in *De constantia* and the *Politicorum*. Also at Leiden, Stevin believed the skills of surveying, hydraulics, and navigation were absolutely necessary for the advancement of the Republic as an independent nation. These skills, he thought, should be taught in Dutch, and he wrote his mathematical and engineering treatises in the vernacular. Eleven-year-old prodigy Grotius was at Leiden around this intellectually stimulating time. More importantly, his father, Jan, had worked with Stevin in creating watermills and sluices for Delft around 1588, and his father also had been a student of Lipsius. The young Grotius became a personal friend of Stevin.⁴⁷

Grotius enrolled at Leiden in August 1594, and finished his degree in law in May 1598. He was appointed to the bar in The Hague in 1599, and practiced law there until he became the chief historian for the States of Holland in 1601. In Amsterdam, he worked with van Oldenbarnevelt and the VOC, often drafting briefs on trade, matters of governance, and religion for each. By 1607, Grotius had advanced to the position of *advocaat fiscaal* (solicitor general) for the courts of Holland, West Friesland, and Zeeland. Notably, this appointment coincided with the beginning of the Beemster project, the first major corporate reclamation investment scheme in Holland. Conceived as a grid of plots for farms and villas on new land, the Beemster and other such land reclamation projects were promoted in maps by Willem Blaeu and Claes Jansz Visscher and reprinted and sold throughout the century (figure 5). Discussed further in the next chapter, the Beemster project and



5. Claes Jansz Visscher, Map of the Beemster, in *Belgium sine Germania Inferior*, 1634, © The British Library Board. Maps C.25.d.8 Plate 31.

the later reclamation schemes it engendered coincided with Grotius drafting his initial ideas on property and its relation to the individual and the state.

These ideas he developed in his early work, written while a young lawyer in Holland. Grotius wrote *De jure praedae* (On the Law of Prize and Booty) in 1604–6, and the *De antiquitate Republicae Bataviae* (On the Ancient Batavian Republic) in 1610, just three years before he was appointed *pensionaris* to the States of Holland, the top adviser in the service of the seven United Provinces. Although both he and van Oldenbarnevelt were tried for treason in 1619 after the Synod of Dort, Grotius escaped into exile, while the seventy-two-year-old statesman was executed.⁴⁸ Still, Grotius was respected as an intellectual by many of Holland's oligarchy, and he maintained a busy correspondence throughout his life. He had returned to Holland between 1625 and 1634, and in this time published *De jure belli ac pacis* (On the Rules of War and Peace, 1625) and *Inleydinghe tot de Hollandsche rechtsghelcerdheyd* (Jurisprudence of Holland, 1631).

Grotius's *De jure praedae* and *Jurisprudence of Holland* provided the rationale, based on his belief that humans naturally have a right to private property, that states must be organized in order to resolve disputes and ensure individual liberties were protected. Grotius's arguments from natural law provided a theoretical foundation for the well-known political philosophies of John Locke, Edmund Burke, Thomas Hobbes, and lesser-known Dutch Republican thinkers like Johan (1622–60) and Pieter (1618–85) de la Court, as well as the economic philosophy of Adam Smith.⁴⁹ In *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, not published until 1776, Smith contended that markets operating "naturally" or freely (minimally regulated) will achieve equilibrium. This liberal tradition of social organization puts the individual first and foremost. Recently, historian Arthur Weststeijn has drawn some interesting parallels by connecting capitalism and republican thought in their common roots in natural law as used by Johan and Pieter de la Court.⁵⁰ The de la Courts, for example, believed "that man is by nature the master and appreciator of his own goods and labor . . . for nature gives him privately the judgment over his property."⁵¹ This idea followed Grotius's assertion from natural law that private ownership was the foundation of a developed commonality. Grotius believed that a body (individual or corporate) had natural rights to property as a means to self-preservation. His ideal affirmed an individual's natural rights for the good of the commonwealth.

In Grotius's conception, natural rights are vested in a single person or a corporate body such as the VOC and WIC merchant companies, which

as military and monopolistic commercial limbs are part of the body of the state. With the natural right of free will, the individual or corporate/state body can freely enter into a contract with other free entities. Those individuals with things necessarily enter into contracts to define the terms of exchange—hence the need for rules and processes of adjudication. Indeed, as we will see, Grotius's arguments defended contractual obligation above all, as means by which to define the relations between individuals and between individuals and the state. These definitions were predicated on his understanding of what can be owned, and by whom. His conception of land as a thing required its governance and humans' relationship to it as such.

Stevin's and Grotius's respective suggestions for statecraft and socio-spatial organization circulated among the ruling class via universities and athenaeums as well as personal contacts. Grotius's conception of natural law included the belief that an individual's virtue (his identity) was necessarily defined by his natural, dutiful participation in society, a concept also important in Stevin's works. Stevin helped provide a visual frame for that organization in military castra and city plans. The rational grid he used organized relationships among individuals and the powers of state. As we will see, maps of territories conquered abroad, as well as investment projects at home, used the grid. In various instances, the pictured organized spaces underscored control and ownership, and connoted civilization and development.

Ideals, of course, are hard to enact and often are homogenizing and univocal. Indeed, the political discord of 1618–19 and 1648–49 had as much to do with conflicting ideas about merchants' versus nobles' fitness for governance as they did religion and foreign affairs. Although the nobility had historically been understood as natural rulers, the increasing power of Amsterdam and her wealthy merchants required legitimization by humanist rhetoric and pictures, exemplified by Caspar Barlaeus's address to the Amsterdam Athenaeum in 1632 titled "the Wise Merchant," and of course, news maps that showed the control and promoted the wise decisions made by directors of the WIC.

Social Organization and Hierarchy

Maps codified and made coherent what was often a cacophony of voices in meeting rooms and on the street. Establishing authority in printed word and image was important in order to leverage power. Most news first passed orally around the docks in Amsterdam, the Bourse, or after church services,

or in personal letters.⁵² Since wealth and governance went hand in hand, the leaders of Amsterdam's government and commercial affairs had an interest in—and an effect on—what was published.

The *Alteratie* of 1578 and the fall of Antwerp in 1585 put Amsterdam's governance in the hands of Calvinist merchants and increased the number of skilled and educated shopkeepers and tradesmen who emigrated from Antwerp.⁵³ By 1600, very few of the governing elite in Holland held a noble pedigree, and cities and provinces needed their governing class to have sufficient wealth since after the revolt participation in governance increasingly became a time-consuming activity. Of course, there were many advantages to government positions. Not least was the ability to promote development, commercial, and military projects and have a voice in their implementation, as well as to help shape public opinion about those endeavors by the strategic outlay of information in print. The highest offices were for the small circle of the most wealthy *hoge burgerij*, and lesser posts also were highly prized for their security and incomes. In Holland, public officials made the most money of any group. City magistrates and sitting and former burgo-masters all could make more than seven thousand guilders or more per year on average.⁵⁴ Because official posts were more lucrative and stable than merchant wholesale or retail, it was in an individual's best interest to be a small-city regent rather than a small-city merchant; official posts could translate to ever-more important official posts, with correspondingly high salaries. Unsurprisingly, governance was a family affair. Most urban elite groomed their sons for the active civic life by sending them to university and then to France and Italy, from where they returned ready for diplomatic or other official leadership positions.⁵⁵

Well-educated public employees and bookkeepers, clerks, schoolmasters, and inspectors, as well as private business owners like publicans, operators of small inns, bakers, smiths, and butchers; inland shippers, tailors, coopers, plumbers, glaziers, and broom makers; and other specialized shopkeepers made up 22 to 24 percent of the urban labor force.⁵⁶ Most made less than six hundred guilders annually. Those who brought in between six hundred and one thousand guilders were the more successful craftsmen, tradesmen, and retailers in the above-named trades, and senior-level municipal officials. At this level, accumulation of capital and goods is noticeable in inventories, typically of merchandise and raw materials, as well as paintings and prints, as we have seen.

Only 6 to 8 percent of urban households brought in over one thousand guilders per year, and these households of the *grote burgerij* often brought in well over a thousand guilders, with those in the apex, the *hoge burgerij*,

reaching millionaire status by the eighteenth century.⁵⁷ The *grote burgerij* included most of the Protestant clergy, medical doctors, notaries, solicitors, and barristers, and the senior ranks of the officer corps and high government officials, including clerks of court, municipal secretaries, sheriffs, and tax collectors. The *hoge burgerij* were the governing wealthy: the city council members, magistrates, and court counsel, as well as those in official provincial and federal offices.⁵⁸ Many of these same public officials had made their wealth by investing in foreign trade; they earned incomes from both activities. As urban citizens, most had large houses in desirable locations in the cities—in Amsterdam, along the Herengracht and Prinsengracht. Some also had country villas, but these were more for pleasure and displaying exotica and knowledge than earning income. Interestingly, de Vries and van der Woude show that real property (houses and land as opposed to bonds and Company stock) made up most of Leiden city regents' wealth from before 1650 to 1674. They attribute this focus to higher values of property before 1660 and the smaller size of public debt before that date.⁵⁹ However, the increasing value of land and related rise of prices of agricultural commodities stimulated technological development in the last decades of the sixteenth century and prompted urban investors with accumulated capital to direct their attention to the profit potential in land reclamation projects such as the Beemster, the bulk of which occurred in the province of North Holland between 1590 and 1640.⁶⁰ Through these projects, urban merchants could purchase *heerlijkheid*—a gentleman's title and corresponding status.

Conclusion

The example of Visscher's map of the siege of 's Hertogenbosch is just one of many that demonstrates the visual and rhetorical mechanisms that contributed to Visscher's maps and views being consumed across Dutch society. These included some source of authentication (claims of being drawn from life, named official sources, citations from history, state-granted privileges) and corresponding visual markers of possession and sovereignty, including technology and the development of natural resources, and institutions of government and commerce. Maps complemented textual education and rhetoric, and, hung on walls, projected one's patriotism, knowledge, and status. The market for these maps was a reflection of the people implicated in their construction. The maps examined in the following chapters helped define and promote the prerogatives of corporate bodies of state and commercial institutions and codified their legitimacy and ideas about exclusivity, abstract concepts also outlined in the jurisprudence of Grotius. The

practical enforcement of these ideals was visualized in the military theory of Stevin. Although a citizen's loyalty might first go toward family, then city, then province, then to the Republic, the economic (and publishing) center was Amsterdam, and so Amsterdam's view of the Republic—and the world—dominated. The structure of the government and commercial companies helps to explain how this came to be, and how Visscher played to official needs to establish himself in the competitive business of print publishing.

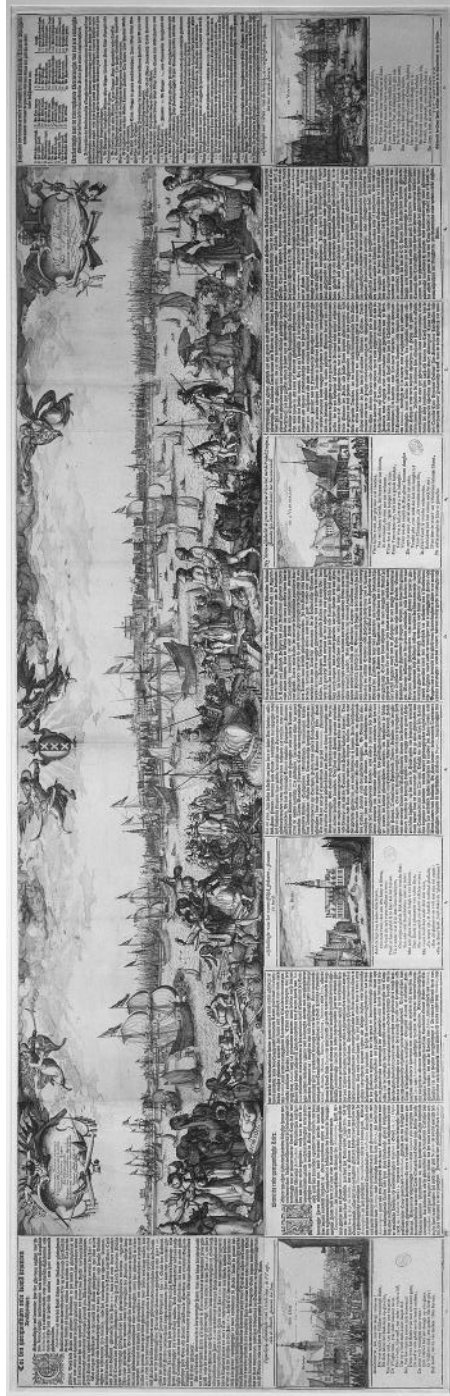
THREE

Capitalism and Cartography in Amsterdam

Bring together the minds of citizens into mutual love, and order away from these walls the causes of all disagreements. Make it so that merchants . . . listen as ones shining with wisdom; thrifty (but with elegance), eager for money, but also for a better end that is without detriment: that is, the arts and virtue.¹

—Caspar Barlaeus, inaugural address to Amsterdam Athenaeum, January 9, 1632

Addressing Amsterdam's elite at his inauguration as praelector of the Athenaeum, Barlaeus wanted to show that trade and philosophy went together—or better, that trade and virtue went together. Amsterdam could be the center of trade, education, and power—even if its leaders were merchants—if they were virtuous: they must have moral and practical knowledge and apply both in their dealings. Already, this pairing of humanistic idealism with mercantilist pragmatism had been pictured in maps and views by Visscher. In 1611, he published a sixteen-sheet print showcasing the commercial significance of Amsterdam (figure 6). Insets of the weigh house (*de Waagh*), town hall, and market at the Dam, the Bourse (stock exchange), butcher, and fish markets are pictured below a panoply of ships and a tableau of figures laden with goods. Alongside these buildings Visscher printed a historical panegyric to Amsterdam, explaining the illustrations. The year 1611 also marked the opening of the Bourse, its building newly designed by Hendrick de Keyser. It could be found just down the street from the Amsterdam Wisselbank, which had opened only two years earlier.² Visscher notes both structures in the text of the ensemble print—praising the regulatory oversight of the Wisselbank and warning that money is often lost in the Bourse.³ His shop on the Kalverstraat situated him perfectly in the midst of a capitalist network where information was key to making money on the exchange, in overseas or domestic investments, and advancing politically. In the print, he presented the industry and institutions of trade and regulation, picturing and visually defining the spaces of modern capitalism on which Amsterdam's—and the new Republic's—growth relied.



6. Claes Jansz Visscher, View of Amsterdam, 1611, in 16 sheets: 44.1 x 147.4 cm. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam RP-P-AO-20-22-2.

A consumer four hundred years ago, like a tourist in Amsterdam today, could purchase any number of printed maps of the city. Visscher, even more so than the Blaeu or Janssonius firms, continuously updated and improved maps and diagrams of the city, which his son continued to sell late into the century.⁴ Visscher documented the economic activity of the city in these maps and views: commercial shops, banks, and markets, industrial manufacture, international trade, and land development and reclamation. What he pictured and sold fits into a fabric of capitalist society legitimated by the rationalism of Roman-Dutch law and the perceived positivism of natural philosophy and history. His prints show the process and result of merchants' growing wealth and power in the new Republic within this humanist framework. Prints confirmed Holland merchants' and regents' legal, historical, and moral claims to accumulated private possessions and their corresponding power. At the same time, these prints could be purchased by other classes and reinforced the perception of a unified society and the naturalness of its organizational structure.

Here I am not concerned with descriptions of the spatial growth of the city or the particularities of its economic growth. Such analyses can be found elsewhere, particularly in the works of Boudewijn Bakker, Jaap Evert Abrahamse, Clé Lesger, and Jan de Vries.⁵ Rather, I aim to situate Visscher's maps within the emerging political and economic thought that was being articulated by humanists such as Barlaeus and legitimated in the jurisprudence of Grotius. Amsterdam's—and the Republic's—economic and geographical expansion was rationalized by a perceived moral imperative, and more especially by legal arguments for the natural right to own and control property. Such defenses were important to support the claim of sovereignty independent of Spain by the free provinces and to unite their citizenry; but they were also necessary for economic and military growth. Here, I use prints of Amsterdam by Visscher to explain how his maps produce and reinforce the system in which he himself was a part. Visscher was able to assert himself in the print-publishing market by picturing the very logic of ownership and control that substantiated Amsterdam's—and the Dutch Republic's, more generally—expansionist capitalist economy. His consumable paper maps were a necessary part of the bureaucracy required in a capitalist state, and indeed, part of an oeuvre that promoted a country unified by commerce and conquest.

Using Visscher's maps as case studies, I sketch a field of cultural production whose actors included merchants, scholars, politicians, and publishers engaged in producing and reinforcing their interests through visual media created, consumed, and displayed.⁶ In Visscher's maps, it is the institutions

(banks and the exchange, corporate bodies, government) and methods of spatial organization (delineation, boxes, labels) that show what Frederick Engels called “the administration of things.” They visualize the control imposed on society by the capitalist system and its concomitant social and political structure. In maps, land becomes a commodity to be delineated, owned, and taxed; land could be created or claimed as booty in a “just” war, and subsequently bought, sold, or exchanged for its productive value. Maps displayed both their owners’ and the state’s economic power because the proprietor, as a subject, was himself part of the system.⁷ The rationalization of space in printed maps of Amsterdam and polder maps of land reclamation projects in the seventeenth century reflected part of the increasing rationalization of modern society. As Weber, Marx, and their contemporary analysts have pointed out, the modern liberal state and capitalist economies are integrated by bureaucratic institutions of regulation, record keeping, and reporting.⁸ Maps were themselves part of the paperwork necessary to legitimate the system. Maps presented a particularly capitalist view of space, one that emphasized expansion and industry, bounded by lines of individual subjective exclusivity, and these maps thus reflected and reinforced contemporary legal and moral ideals circulating in Holland.

Already we have seen Visscher’s map of the siege of ‘s Hertogenbosch from 1629 (chapter 2, figure 2). Visscher published numerous maps like this in the 1620s, after the end of the twelve-year truce and return to war. He also published separate maps of the provinces, and maps of the seventeen provinces together, indicating his—and the public’s—hope for a coherent unified federation.⁹ However, before the end of the truce, maps of Amsterdam and reclaimed land helped to promote Amsterdam and the province of Holland and link them to the well-being of the state by showcasing Amsterdam’s developed agricultural, commercial, financial, and governmental institutions. In a similar vein, maps of colonies would demonstrate the same and justify the role of military commercial expansion abroad.

Printed maps not only provided the mechanisms for state control but also reinforced the identity of the individual who purchased them. Property became integral to perceived individual identity and proprietorship could be displayed to achieve status and recognition. In modern capitalist societies, identity itself is a form of capital, a way of distinguishing oneself from others in an otherwise mechanistic, dehumanizing, and homogenizing system.¹⁰ Paradoxically, each person must always own or possess something to affirm and assert his subjectivity, individuality, and personhood, and in so doing, he perpetuates the hierarchical system. Altogether, subjects and their

desired and accumulated objects create a system of relationships that reinforced both the capitalist state and individuals' perceived subjectivity and role within it. Contemporary cultural critic Grant Kester neatly summarizes this modern condition as originating in natural law:

The postulates of the natural law tradition gradually coalesce into more coherent form in early liberal political philosophy, which will contend that a social order based on the primacy of property and individual possession is intrinsically egalitarian and will naturally prevent the systematic inequality and arbitrary abuses of power characteristic of absolutist government. The discipline imposed by the vicissitudes of the market and internalized by each individual at the behavioral level will replace the external authority of an omniscient God or monarch.¹¹

Hence, an individual with capital in the Dutch Republic was virtuous and "naturally" superior because he had capital. His self-interest also benefited society, because his virtue and capital helped shape it. Thus, displaying one's ability to participate in civil society and contribute to the commonality was an important aspect of presenting one's individual subjectivity and power within the system. Maps allowed merchant regents to affirm their authority by presenting their virtue and capital. Elites could invest in individual plots of land, colonies and trade abroad, and buy individual printed maps to perform and solidify their contribution to developing liberal society.

The Virtuous Merchant and the Republic

The intellectualized political and economic atmosphere of Amsterdam before the recognition of the Republic in 1648 is captured in Barlaeus's address. Titled "The Wise Merchant" (*Mercator sapiens*), Barlaeus articulated a conception of capitalist pragmatism rooted in Christian humanism that supported the new nation's territorial growth and economic gain. He advocated that a merchant's self-interested pursuit of wealth for honorable purposes—not greed or ostentation—provided the foundation for a self-interested morality that in turn was the foundation of good leadership and a just society.¹² Barlaeus's address was in many respects a moral call to the merchant leaders of Amsterdam, and a response to noble skeptics. Barlaeus saw nothing wrong with trade, if it was done with practical knowledge and love of God. To be sure, the rhetoric of faithful honor connected the humanist *vita activa* in political life and the Christian value of industrious-

ness. Throughout the century these rhetorical threads were woven alongside images to create the particularly commercial, political, and moral fabric of Hollanders' identity.

Barlaeus and others explained that honor was imperative to a merchant's pursuits, and that his motive must be to help society and the nation as a whole. This echoed his compatriot and friend Grotius's approach to organizing republican society according to natural law, while legitimizing a place for merchants in the governing system. The themes of participating in trade and accumulating wealth with a faithful heart and for the good of many were supported by frequent iterations in prints and pictures that God smiled on those who worked, and indeed, that Providence had especially given the Dutch their fertile land and the wherewithal to make it produce. There was, as Simon Schama has pointed out, a common thread of Dutch (or better, Hollander) exceptionalism that ran throughout the historical, legal and political, and religious tracts of the day.¹³ As would be articulated by Dutch republicans in the last quarter of the century, the rich ruled because they had profited by reason of their virtuousness.¹⁴

Indeed, this "providentially distributed opulence" helped justify the rapid accumulation of wealth by merchants in Amsterdam. Since the turn of the century, the Dutch sought to expand their role in overseas trade by circumventing reliance on Spain, against whom they fought for independence. The physical growth of Amsterdam paralleled its economic growth. As more individuals accumulated capital and goods, it was increasingly important to display those things that projected an individual's involvement in a particular trade and his concomitant social status, marking and distinguishing his role in society. Display also propagated new schemes for profit-making enterprises. Economic expansion necessarily had a spatial dimension and profitable schemes included land reclamation, overseas trade, and plantation-based colonies. At the same time, the rationalist, modern capitalist mode of production emphasized efficiency (speed and quantity of production) and required machines for industrial processing and labor sources that were often exploitative, especially in the colonies.

Capitalism was legitimated, reinforced, and consolidated in institutions of commerce such as overseas trading companies, the Bourse and bank, and the local and federal governments that divested power to those institutions. Since growth defines capitalism and economic crises are marked by perceived low growth, new conditions for extraction, production, and accumulation must be created to perpetuate the system. Theorists critical of the system maintain that industrial capitalism is unsustainable precisely because it relies on ever-increasing consumption and that it generates in-

security because it is prone to the perceived “crisis” of low growth. Spatial and geographical expansion through state-sponsored trade and colonization was one way that the contradictions of capitalism could be temporarily collapsed.¹⁵

Visscher and the Amsterdam Map Tradition

After Visscher moved to the Kalverstraat in 1611, he made some of his income by engraving scenic vignettes for other publishers, but he also marked himself as a specialist in landscape and topography with the profile of Amsterdam and the publication of landscape views.¹⁶ In the profile from 1611, he associated the city with commerce organized by the institutions of his civic community, and focused on national industry and international trade. Although it is not a map per se, Visscher clearly presented the prominent institutions of religion, government, and commerce, locating and directing the viewer toward what made Amsterdam a civilized and organized society.¹⁷ In sixteen sheets, the scene was meant for display. A merchant could buy the print, hang it on his wall, and point out his contribution to the city in industry, trade, or investment.

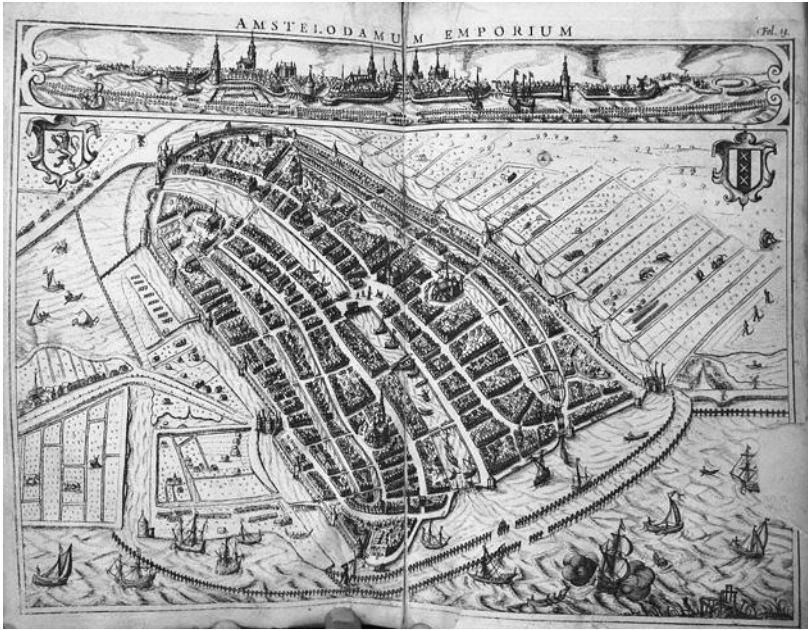
In the foreground, citizens from North Holland and West Friesland haul a cornucopia of local fishes, meats, cheeses, and grains from the right side to meet the traders, who enter from the left, carrying their imported goods from abroad. Below, building portraits of the Dam, Bourse, Butcher Hall, and Fish Market are accompanied by unsigned laudatory poems in Dutch. Barlaeus, Grotius, Constantijn Huygens, and many other prominent educated men wrote encomia that were published as dedications and literary decoration on prints. All texts on the map, if not written by Visscher himself, were selected and approved by him as publisher and thus speak to his conception of the city and his connection to and desire to flatter and promote important humanists and the elites who would have recognized them. These additions, like the themes in Barlaeus’s athenaeum address and the institutions emphasized pictorially by Visscher, all helped to legitimate the new merchant elite’s moral and political foundations for governance.

A key above the panorama marks forty-two buildings and churches in the city. The cartouche in the top right includes a distich in Latin that reads: *Religio, merces, artes, politica, themisque Amstelodami amplum dilatant nomen in orbem* (Piety, commerce, art and science, governance and legislation / spread the name of Amsterdam over the whole earth). The tools for those achievements are shown surrounding the cartouche: a globe, a pair of books, a painter’s palette, silver and glasswork, a music book, and the New

Testament. The text accompanying the pictures, also in Dutch, elucidates the subjects advertised in the cartouche and provides detailed contemporary examples and comparisons to antiquity, specifically drawing an analogy between Amsterdam and Athens. Visscher articulates how Amsterdam's foreign and domestic relations were organized and governed by wise and pious men like the ideal polis of Athens as described by Demosthenes, Plato, and Isocrates in his *Areopagiticus*.¹⁸

It is notable that Visscher here focused on the institutions of the city, specifically its government, trade, and educational facilities, rather than on individual leaders. This furthered the theme of unity rather than particular leaders and their politics. He also felt compelled to mention in the text what he did *not* include, but still evokes through his mention of them: he does not provide a history of the first inhabitants of Amsterdam, a description of the methods by which water was pumped away, or how the town walls were built, but he iterates all were equally important feats. As we will see, Visscher included these histories elsewhere in his printed oeuvre.

Visscher recognized the opportunity to present his own contributions to this increasingly popular genre. His profile of Amsterdam was not the first: other profiles of the city's skyline accompanied maps of ground plans of Amsterdam, and separate profiles had been printed since at least that of 1597 by Pieter Bast and Willem Blaeu.¹⁹ A good example of a birds-eye-view map combined with a profile view and historical text in folio is in Johannes Pontanus's *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium historia* (*History and Activities of the City of Amsterdam*), published in Latin in 1611 and in Dutch in 1614 by Jodocus Hondius (figure 7). The combination of perspectives found in birds-eye-view and axonometric maps found in Hondius's image was a favorite method for depicting historical events in Dutch prints, since it allowed for the visualization of a diverse abundance of information, and exemplifies the privilege placed on positivist data.²⁰ Modeled after Cornelis Anthoniszoon's view from 1544, Hondius's map presents a recognizable approximation of a three-dimensional vista of the bustling center of the city, where shops and houses are shown densely packed along the canal fronts.²¹ Like Visscher's figurative profile, the profile view above Hondius's map depicts the city from the IJ, where the Amstel River penetrates Amsterdam's dense clusters of shops and homes, separating the Oude Kerk (Old Church) and the weigh house on the left from the Nieuwe Kerk (New Church) and Stadhuis (town hall) on the right. The IJ was where ships entered the port, and as such, most of the city's artists showcased this view of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. The buildings associated with institutions that served the commonality—places of trade, government, and religion—



7. "Amstelodamum Emporium," in Johannes Pontanus, *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium historia* (Amsterdam: Jodocus Hondius, 1611). James Ford Bell Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota. (Author photo.)

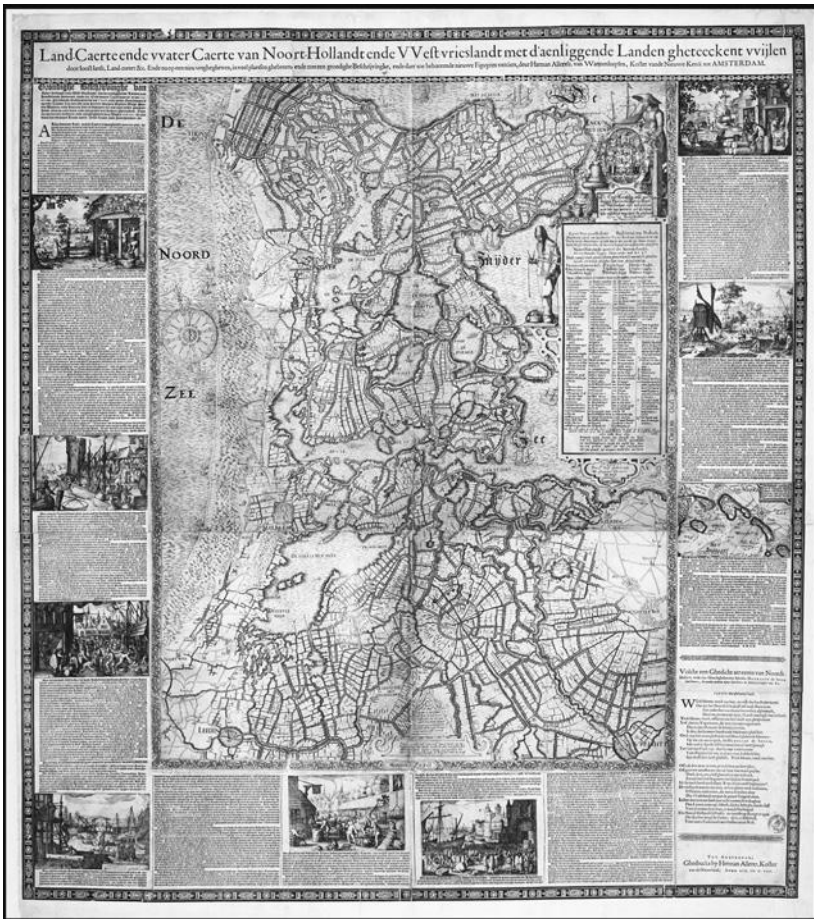
punctuate the cityscape. The map and view thus highlight the built city and its institutions, supporting the laudatory history of Amsterdam's civilization that Pontanus laid out in the text surrounding Hondius's image.²²

Similarly, Hondius's ground plan emphasized the organization of the city's streets and canals as conduits that facilitated commerce. On the Amstel, boats are tied to wharves, ready to unload or load goods destined for the central shops. At the edge of the city, merchant ships bob in the harbor, just outside the palisade in the IJ. A gallows at the bottom right edge signifies the enforcement of Amsterdam's high court of law and regulations. Regulatory weights and duties were measured at the weigh houses on the Dam and at St. Antoniespoort. The St. Antoniespoort gate and weigh house physically and visually bridges the division between the rectangular plots of land on the left and the shops in the city. Along with the gates, windmills project from the bastioned walls, marking the confluence of country and city created by industry. In the farmland, sluices that regulated the level of water clearly separate the land tracts. Livestock, farmers with scythes, and windmills identify the agricultural function of the land. Between the profile

and the ground plan, two coats of arms show Holland's lion and the three crosses of Saint Andrew, Amsterdam's emblem.

Visscher often suggested that productive activity was integral to the development of civil society and was a result of strong leadership. A map of the world etched by him from 1614 presents the continents within a border of vignettes that narrate a European understanding of its history. On the corners, Visscher included famous ancient leaders including Ninus, Cyrus, Alexander the Great, and Julius Caesar, thereby using history to make a moral statement about the way the world ideally works, but without specifically mentioning any contemporary Dutch leader. The spandrels display the Christian interpretation of history with scenes of the Creation and Fall of Man, the Flood, the birth and crucifixion of Christ, and the Last Judgment. Around a descriptive cartouche to the left of South America stand Magellan, Cavendish, Columbus, Vespucci, Drake, and Dutch circumnavigator of the globe Olivier van Noort. On the borders, Visscher presented vignettes of the traditional labors of the months.²³ He had already revised the traditional labors into modern Dutch trade for the border vignettes for Herman Allertszoon Koster van Warmenhuysen's *Land-Caerte ende Water-Caerte van Noort-Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt* (Land and Water Map of North Holland and West Friesland) in 1608 (figure 8). Visscher's contributions to the six-sheet map include eight pictorial scenes glorifying Dutch industries, discussed further below.

So too did he emphasize institutions of commerce and government as the cornerstones of urban development, literally in the corners of a ground plan of Amsterdam from 1623 (figure 9). In 1621 the twelve-year truce came to an end and Visscher had begun to focus on news maps that detailed the military maneuvering of the Dutch against the Spanish in urban areas and abroad. As discussed in the previous chapter, these maps kept the public up to date on war activities, and siege and battle plans were a particularly popular source of military news. At the same time, it seemed savvy to cater to the less hawkish among Amsterdam merchants and highlight again Amsterdam's central role as a trade emporium. In 1623, Visscher appealed to the resurgent feelings of nationalism and civic pride, feelings which he also stoked with his broadsheet maps of military events, by using the same format to publish a birds-eye-view map of Amsterdam with decorative borders.²⁴ Visscher's so-called figurative map from 1623 has the dimensions of an oversize folio (46.6 x 56.2 cm). On the corners, he included portraits of important trade institutions in the city, as he had also done in his 1611 profile tableau. Like the earlier city views, such portraits of buildings reflected a growing self-confidence in the citizens of Amsterdam.²⁵ In the 1623 map,



8. Harmen Allertszoon Koster van Warmenhuysen (printer) and Claes Jansz Visscher (decorations), wall map of North Holland and West Friesland, reprinted 1608 from original by Joost Jansz Beeldsnijder, 1575, 6 six sheets: 116.5 x 103.5 cm. Special Collections, University of Amsterdam. OTM: HB-KZL W.X. 014.

Visscher flattened Jodocus Hondius's earlier view into a rationalized two-dimensional ground plan. He retained the dimensional scope of the profile view from the IJ. The ground plan is surrounded by the vignettes of the East and West India Company warehouses, Bourse, and town hall on the corners. In the profile above, the buildings housing those same institutions are prominent on the horizon.

Local industry is also referenced by the windmills along the bastions and the fields beyond the city walls. Polder mills scooped water to make



9. Claes Jansz Visscher, "Amstelodamum Celebre Emporium Forma Plana," 1623, 46.6 x 56.2 cm. City Archives, Amsterdam.

land from the sea, post mills ground grain, and others processed hemp, oil, and leather, and later, paper.²⁶ These mills were symbols of Dutch manufacturing, signifying the engineered landscape and the products their mechanics processed. Wind and water mills frequently appear in printed and painted Dutch landscapes and maps, and in rustic landscapes printed by Visscher.²⁷ Visscher also had published individual prints of windmills, including the emblem of a post mill found in Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* (1614) that likened the unceasing communal work of the mill to that of a good prince.²⁸ Even in Antwerp in the 1580s, Jan van der Straet had presented wind and water mills as novel to the "modern" era in the *Nova reperta* (Antwerp: Philips Galle, ca. 1584). As he claimed in the captions accompanying pictures in his text, "The winged mill which now wants to be driven by the winds is said to have been unknown to the Romans" and "Whoever thinks water mills were invented in antiquity is completely wrong." On maps too, mills served not only as symbols of modernity and ingenuity, but also as solitary stalwarts in the landscape working for the profit of the community by grinding grain, milling paper, or pumping water.

In the 1623 map, Amsterdam is visually central, akin to its role as a central emporium and port. Amsterdam merchants controlled the dissemination of the tangible, informational, and financial products across the Republic and Europe and their self-perception as inhabiting a commercial center was lauded publicly with maps like this, and by medals and prints repeating the poem by Jan Vos that had been engraved on the wall of the new Bourse:

*Roemt Ephesus op haer kerk/Tyrhus op haer markt en haven/ Babel op haer metzel
werk/Memphis op haer spitze gaven/ Romen op haer heerschappy/ Al de werelt roemt
op my.*

Ephesus' fame was her temple/ Tyre her market and her port/ Babylon her
masonry Walls/ Memphis her pyramids/ Rome her empire/ All the world
praises me.²⁹

Visscher's maps and views of Amsterdam projected commercial and industrial power and the city's ability to maintain that power through its governmental and financial institutions. The concept of unity toward a common good was later co-opted also by the WIC in their motto, *Eendracht maakt macht*: Unity makes strength. Here, the warring corporate body acted on behalf of the commonality, the state. During the truce, prints helped create an image of a community built on civic virtue, an ancient myth of rebellion, and territorial reclamation. Correspondingly, the Beemster land reclamation project exemplifies how history, politics, and economics were visually flattened and simplified to fit within a rhetorical narrative that was especially appealing to the Amsterdam merchant elite.

The Beemster

The Dutch relationship to land is inextricably bound with their relationship to water. They pictured it in prints and paintings, controlling nature visually and presenting their political autonomy symbolically. Their land was territory hard-won from relentless nature and absolutist aggressors. In prints, Dutch territory is consistently depicted as land occupied and made productive and efficient through Dutch will and engineering. Prints and maps show Dutch industry and reinforce a national mythology of ancient roots combined with apparent progress of scientific innovation. Between 1590 and 1640, over two hundred thousand acres of land was claimed, a third of it from draining peat fens and lakes. By 1640, Amsterdam had 40 percent more land than it had in the sixteenth century. This was because of reclama-

tion projects in North Holland like the Beemster (1607–12), Purmer (1621–22), Wormer (1625–26), Heerhugowaard (1624–1631), and Schermer (1631–35). By its completion in 1612, the Beemster was the largest polder in the Netherlands, imposing a rectangular grid structure on over seventeen thousand acres, or seventy-one square kilometers of land claimed from what had been a marshy lake just north of the city.³⁰ The Beemster project is an example of the integration of political and economic power. The Beemster has been hailed as a “triumph over water, a statement of Dutch power over nature, a product of technical ingenuity and organizational prowess, a site of agricultural abundance and a repository or architectural and horticultural beauty . . . the polder came to epitomize Dutch ideas of pristine nature, wholesome and blissful living, just as it symbolized the peace and wealth of the new Dutch Republic.”³¹ Economics, politics, and history were linked in the printed charts of it.

Reclamation projects provided investors the opportunity to purchase land, not only as a potential profit source, but also as a way to acquire *heerlijkheid*. Already rich non-nobles had enhanced their respective statuses by purchasing manors throughout the provinces. Constantijn Huygens’s purchase of the castle at Zuilichem in 1630 allowed him to be called “Heer van Zuilichem,” and Grand Pensionary of Holland Johan van Oldenbarnevelt was “Heer van Tempel.”³² Thus, through purchasing power, reclamation schemes, and new colonial plantations, Amsterdam merchants placed themselves alongside the established landed nobility of the provinces, and with their control of capital, enhanced their political, as well as economic, power. That merchants could, in effect, purchase titles, irked some of the nobility, and, as we will see, this tension played out in the conflicts between the WIC, patroons in New Netherland, and the States General in the middle of the century.

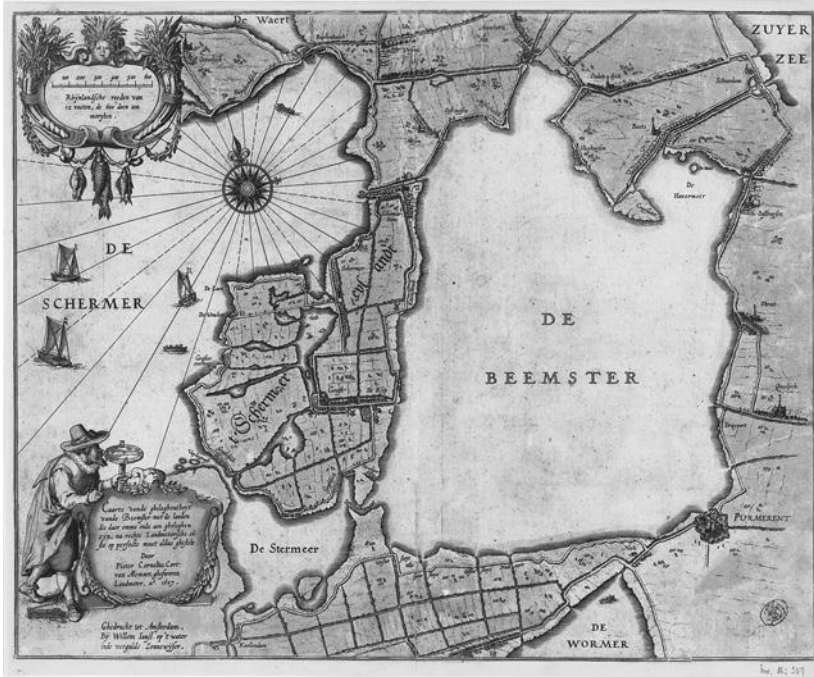
Van Oldenbarnevelt had personally promoted merchant investment in the Beemster project since it helped underpin his peace negotiations with Spain. By August 1609, the twelve-year truce with Spain was in place. On August 7, the States General approved the Beemster project, and it was approved by the Amsterdam *vroedschap* on the same day.³³ At the turn of the century, Amsterdam needed the land because of its continued growth from immigration and trade. As Abrahamse has shown, much of Amsterdam’s growth in the seventeenth century was built on pragmatics of transportation, water movement, and social desire for status, rather than ideals. However, as a partnership between investors and the city of Amsterdam and unbound by existing topographies, the Beemster became exemplary of a common ideal and ownership of part of it—or a picture of it—could reflect status.

It reflects the gridded format preferred by Stevin and codified by Grotius. It is no coincidence that this kind of organization for reclamation projects at home became the matrix that framed and organized colonial land acquisition as well.

Despite the high-level political endorsement, the Beemster project and other seventeenth-century reclamation projects were not funded by the States of Holland or States General directly, but by merchant capital. The states stood to benefit by taxing the land and products, and the financiers were required to obtain their blessing by way of charter. In earlier centuries, dikes and dike maintenance generally were funded by democratically decided polder council taxes or a noble landowner's largesse. Although Beemster investors saw its development as a benefit for the commonality and investment part of their duty as leading citizens, the project's goal was profit, obtained by efficient development.³⁴ Dirk and Hendrick van Os, two of the founders of the East India Company (chartered by the States General in 1602), convened a group of investors. Many of them were burgomasters, civil servants, or lawyers already invested in trading companies. In other words, the financiers of the Beemster were both the wealthiest and the most politically powerful men in Holland. Despite setbacks by floods in the first years, they were not disappointed. The rents on 207 new farms provided the initial 123 investors with a return of 250,000 guilders, or 17 percent on their investment.³⁵

Van Oldenbarnevelt's support of a domestic investment project suggests his interest in rerouting Amsterdam's merchant class to focus their capital investment at home rather than abroad. During these same years, Willem Usselincx, a Calvinist merchant from Antwerp, had lobbied unsuccessfully for the creation of a joint-stock company to establish colonies and trade across the Atlantic and thereby counteract the Catholic presence of Spain in the New World. However, a West Indies company would have been a direct antagonism to the peace process. Van Oldenbarnevelt's interest also indicates his keen sense of pragmatism in having wealthy Amsterdammers contribute domestically, literally building up the new nation, and increasing the power of the province of Holland particularly.

Mapping was crucial to know the extent of the proposed new territory and evenly divide the plots of land. On May 21, 1607, a decree was drawn up by the major investors stating that a commission of four investors would support the land surveyor. The surveyor was supposed to consider diking by using a ring around the lake, rather than placing dikes within the lake a few meters from shore. The decree also stated that the *trekvaarten* (waterways for towed barges) should be accessible and straight, and that the surveyor



10. Willem Blaeu after Pieter Cornelis Cort, Map of Beemster Lake, 1607. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, RP-P-1916-259.

should make suggestions for placing windmills and for which ditches and waterways should be closed. They were also asked to measure the width and length of the lake. The initial survey in 1607 by Cornelis Cort led to the first maps, including one of the lake area published by Willem Blaeu in 1607 (figure 10). Five other surveyors measured the frozen lake in 1607–8, Lucas Sinck, Gerrit Langedijk, Agustijn Bas, Reyer Corneliszoon and Jan Pieterszoon Dou, in order to fulfill the wishes of the investors. They positioned the initial dike to create as short a shoreline as possible, in as rectangular a form as possible. It was more or less straight and therefore suitable for the *trekschuiten*, the boats towed from land along the canal. The corresponding geometrical pattern of plots provided official legibility, and easy commercial access to and from the area; it was visually rational, thereby appealing to the efficiency desired by the financiers.³⁶

As with the organization of the overseas trading companies, land reclamation projects entailed extensive paperwork (including collected data about the area to be reclaimed), patents for the machines used, lawsuits,

board minutes, correspondence, official decrees, and of course, charts and printed maps.³⁷ The process of collecting data, using it to make decisions, and reporting back to other shareholders and filing the paperwork is part of the administration of goods endemic to the bureaucracy of the state and capitalism generally. Printed maps helped in planning, as well as in sparking interest among potential investors and buyers. The regularity of these maps also reinforced the perceived rationality of the social system. Not until the reclamation of the Beemster did polder maps infiltrate the public consciousness to a meaningful extent—and this was intended in large part to advertise the leasable land so that merchants could profit from their investment, and for those same owners to project their virtuous participation in the development of fertile land. In these merchant-funded reclamation projects, the land was regularized into the delineated plots we see in the Beemster and later polder maps.

The Beemster was a planned community of lots intersected by ten roads and eight ditches. Eight large blocks were allocated for markets, and five for villages. Blocks with a surface area of one hundred *morgens* (1 *morgen* = 0.8 hectare) were subdivided into five oblong lots of twenty *morgens* that connected to a street in the front and ditch in the back. By its completion, it took four tiers of forty-three windmills in a dike ring to hold back the inland sea and create farmland and estate plots. However, the project was not welcomed by every Hollander, nor was it uniformly successful.³⁸ Many farmers and fishermen depended on the Beemster's water for their livelihood and its clay for fertilizing the surrounding land, and they were not compensated for their losses. Some responded by sabotaging the new drainage dike and causing flooding early on, and they were met with legal proclamations by the board of investors against their attempts. Furthermore, the new polder was too wet for arable farming, and most of it had to be used initially for grazing cows and horses. It required more windmills and deeper ditches and canals than planned. As historian Alette Fleischer writes, "Thus to interpret the construction of the Beemster polder as an obviously victorious transformation of nature into culture and a brilliantly successful application of the ingenious devices of the early modern economy of water management required considerable ingenuity itself."³⁹ Print media was part of the ingenious interpretive spin campaign that helped construct an imagined triumphalist cultural identity through poems, historical accounts, pictorial allegories, and maps.

Plans of the Beemster were sold singly in folio and bound in atlases accompanied by historical and laudatory text. Visscher's version of the Beemster map, initially printed in 1625, is included in the atlas *Belgium sive Ger-*

mania Inferior (1634) and based on Pieter van den Keere's 1617 plate, which Visscher had purchased in 1623⁴⁰ (chapter 2, figure 5). Indeed, it is after this date that most of his polder maps were issued.⁴¹ Although his own version of the Beemster map was published later than Willem Blaeu's, Visscher made explicit laudatory reference to the Beemster in the descriptions of Dutch productivity accompanying the 1608 *Land-Caerte ende Water-Caerte van Noort-Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt* (figure 8). This map, originally from a survey in 1575 by *landmeter* Joost Janszoon, apparently warranted a new edition just at the same time the first maps of the planned Beemster polder came on the market, at the height of interest in land reclamation schemes in North Holland. Here Visscher and Koster competed with the first Beemster maps by adding figural images of Dutch industries and descriptive text to the older map, integrating geography with history and highlighting the resources given by God, and owned and developed by man.⁴² The map shows the land as it was before the economic development initiated by the industrial processes depicted on the borders, and explains how this came to be. Tacitus's history is invoked to explain how the land was won by the Batavians in war against the Romans.

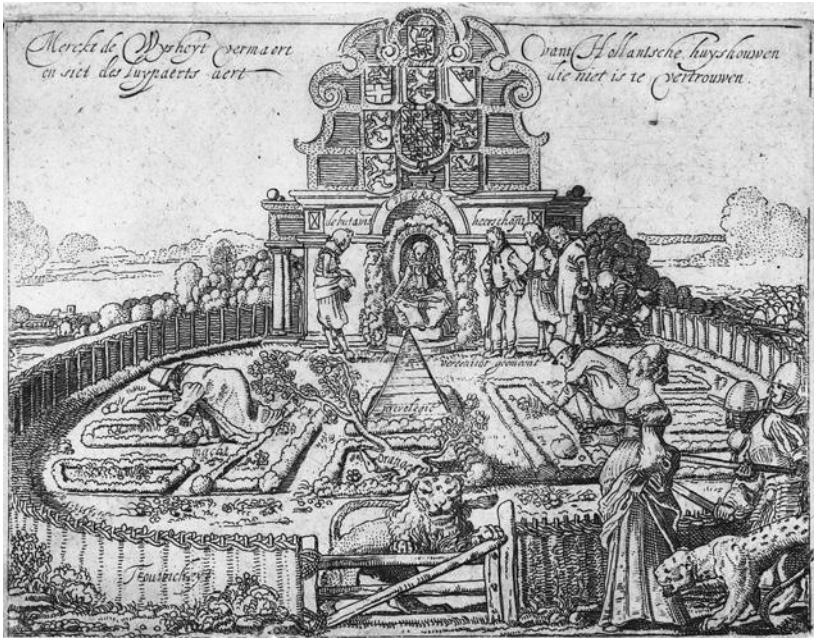
The text continues to complement Visscher's inset scenes, highlighting the dairy and butter industry, fishing, preservation of herring ("salt is better than gold"!), and the ports ("especially Amsterdam") where inhabitants bring their products. Weaving, bleaching, and boiling of linen to make sails (shipbuilding was an important industry in Zaan) and to export is described and shown, followed by peat cutters in a field adjacent to a wooden windmill. It is proclaimed that the land is productive because of the dikes and sluices (powered by windmills) created by the inhabitants of these provinces. This historical scene climaxes in the wonder of the present day, when "men have begun to dike the Beemster."⁴³ The historical description ends with a grateful prayer to God for having provided these overflowing resources. A brief encomium to Hadrianus Junius, author of the history of Batavia (*Batavia: In qua praeter gentis et insulae antiquitatem, originem . . .* [Leiden: Raphelingius, 1588]), follows. The 1620 reprint of the map by François van den Hoeye dispenses with the praise poem to Junius, replacing it with a description and map of the completed Beemster.

Such praise for the Beemster was included with plans in atlases throughout the century. Joan Blaeu, Willem's son, included the earlier map of the Beemster among the many polder maps of reclaimed land from the earlier half of the century in his *Grand Atlas*, begun in 1664. The Beemster map is accompanied by text that explains its history, praises the merchants and investors, and makes favorable comparisons between the Dutch and the an-

cient Romans for their keen engineering prowess. In his map Blaeu describes which merchants invested in the project, when it was begun, from whom they obtained permission, and the initial twenty-six mills needed to move the water. Although Blaeu mentions the inundation when the dikes broke, he proceeds to talk about the Beemster as a triumph of beautiful, fertile land, inhabited by multitudes of people. Finally, he compares this engineering project to those of the ancient Romans, specifically under Claudius, who had tried to control the inundations of Lake Fucinus by having a canal tunnel built to reduce the effects of its fluctuations. In the other maps, windmills decorate cartouches, along with other tools of industry.

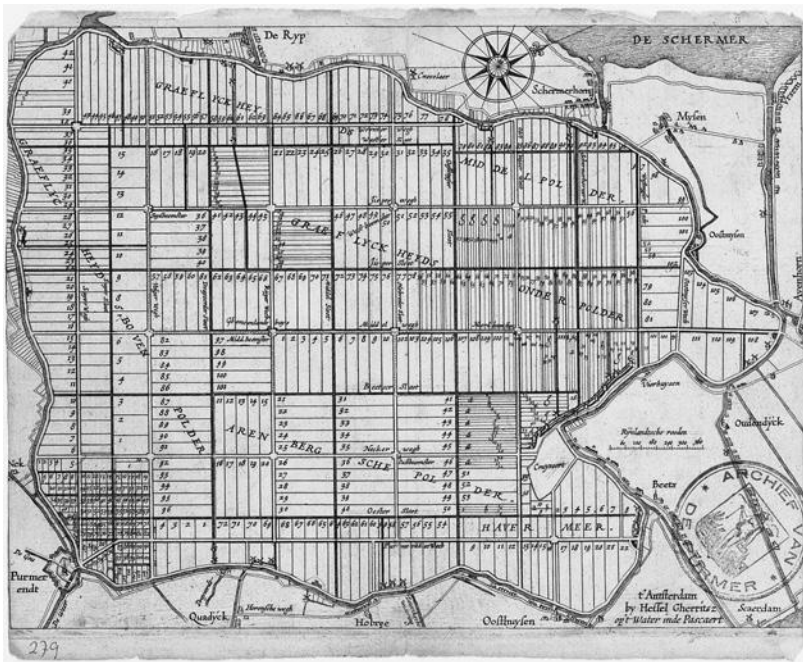
Contemporary printed rhetoric about the Beemster included visual symbolism that linked it to the founding mythologies of ancient Batavia and the peaceful gardens of Arcadia and Eden. Indeed, in addition to maps of the Beemster, publishers came out with allegorical prints that show freedom and prosperity blooming from Holland's Garden, the *Hortus Batavus*. In the etching by Willem Buytewech from 1615, *Allegory of the Twelve Year Truce and Freedom and Prosperity of the Seven Provinces: Garden of Holland*, Holland is personified as a maiden overlooking an enclosed garden (figure 11). She looks on while well-to-do Dutch men tend neat rectangular plots. An orange tree, symbolizing the House of Orange, blooms in the center. The entrance is guarded by the lion of Holland, protecting the produce from Spanish soldiers. Strength and a unified commonality are the result of the gentlemen's attention, indicated by the words *macht* (power/strength) and *verenicht gemeent* (united community) inscribed on the left and right plots. Poet Joost van den Vondel used a similar allegory of a fertile maiden to describe the Beemster in a poem from 1644 for one of the initial investors, Karel Looten: "A cream and butter-well sprang from her ample bust/ the fishmeat turned to flesh, a virgin yet intact/ the towers round her brow showed a cloud-piercing thrust/ as opulence and height each other will attract."⁴⁴ As Maria Schenkeveld interprets it, Vondel's poem presented the reclamation of the Beemster as like a second Ovidian creation that brings about a new Golden Age, one that is especially meant for the wealthy elite who enjoy the dancing, banqueting, and opulence that the new fecund land of the Beemster provides.⁴⁵ Participation in the Beemster project was a way for merchants and regents to project their virtue and distinguish themselves among their peers. As "Holland's Garden," their investment could show their special interest in, knowledge of, and control over nature and their care for the commonality, just as regents tended to government in order to increase the common good.

The transformation of water into land was profoundly significant for the



11. Willem Buytewech, *Allegory of the Twelve Year Truce and Freedom and Prosperity of the Seven Provinces: Garden of Holland*, 1615, 14 x 18.2 cm. Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam, RP-P-1935-836.

political, as well as economic, growth of the young nation. To be sure, farms could help feed the growing population, but the reclamation was not just about making more land on which to grow food for the burgeoning urban populace—the wealthy certainly had enough to eat, and must have seen draining the land more as a potentially profitable investment with fairly low risk, especially compared to overseas trade.⁴⁶ Part of the propaganda by Beemster investors suggested that the lake had to be cultivated and transformed into an economical environment, with profitable husbandry and organized, beautiful gardens.⁴⁷ Its regularized layout into estate plots paralleled contemporary ideas about civilization, ownership, and statecraft. Regents, like the metaphorical gardener, tended and organized production for the commonality. Organized and planned as it was, Fleischer argues that the Beemster was symbolically a garden, and part of the rhetoric surrounding the “Garden of Holland.”⁴⁸ It was a real example of elites combining conservative historical paradigms with mechanical innovations. The Beemster was likened to a garden in poems and allegories, and as the *Hortus Batavus*, may also have been seen as a microcosm of the ideal Republic. Its function-



12. Hessel Gerritszoon, Plan of the Beemster, 1612. Waterlands Archief, Purmerend.

ality was not only economically practical, but highly socially symbolic and politically useful as well. In accumulating and collecting exotic and luxurious goods from abroad in a garden, rich merchants were able to display their knowledge and connections, be they scientific, trade-oriented, or both. In the Beemster, commerce and politics was infused with the legitimating power of scientific knowledge for a common goal of profit.

The Visscher and Blaeu maps already discussed were adaptations of the 1612 map of the Beemster development plots based on the survey by cartographer Hessel Gerritszoon (figure 12). The gridded plan stemmed from classical ideas about the order and harmony of geometry that had spread north from Italy and already undergirded early modern Dutch urban, military, and architectural planning. Simon Stevin was an important promoter of this classical model, and is an example of a Dutch pragmatist who took these humanist ideas and adapted them to fit contemporary needs. The grid schema of the Beemster polder seems to reflect Stevin's ideas, and certainly the surveyors trained in the *Duytsche Mathematique* would have been familiar with them. Like Stevin's castra with the commander in the center, the

typical estate plot consisted of a house placed in the center of symmetrically designed garden where everything was ordered according to function and meaning. A central axis divided the garden into two halves. Regularity and symmetry provided an antidote to chaos and disorder. The grid indicated order, harmony, and legibility, allowing for the surveillance by the owner of his property, collections, and goods in the same way that state officials relied on the simple legibility of a grid map for organizing information about taxable land areas. Such a plan connoted a space where everything (and everyone) had its place, a space that was harmonious and hierarchical. It also thereby recalled the pristine Edenic and Arcadian past that Christian humanists glorified and used to morally rationalize their project. Such a space prefigured a peaceful and prosperous future for the new Republic. Stevin's rationalist ideas about military camp and city organization, however, were not simply copied. The grid here was flexible, as Charles van den Heuvel has emphasized for its utility in colonial cities as well. It allowed easy access by goods and people over land and water, in addition to providing a legible, simplified delineation of new land for owners and officials. The Beemster plan was indeed "accessible, consumer-friendly and aesthetic, resulting in a hybrid between the writings of Simon Stevin and the surveyors' experience."⁴⁹

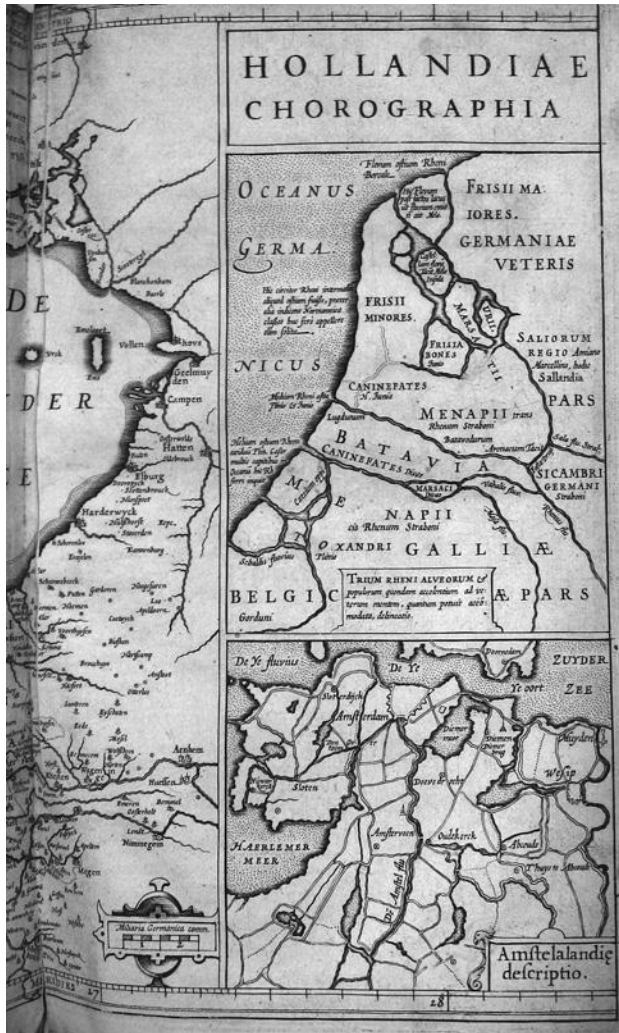
Similarly, pragmatism combined with the history invoked to support claims of political sovereignty and Hollanders' ancient possession of territory. This territory was, significantly, the same area on which the Beemster was built. The Beemster project complemented Hollanders' claims to their own history, land, and sovereignty, exemplified in the origin myth of Claudius Civilis. The rebellion led by Batavian Claudius Civilis against the Roman Empire paralleled the united provinces' rebellion against the Hapsburg Empire. Histories of the Batavian roots of the Dutch were compiled by Grotius and Petrus Scriverius, in 1610 and 1636, respectively, and Pontanus also included this myth in his history of Amsterdam from 1611.⁵⁰ Grotius used the history to explain the origins of the highly decentralized Dutch government and rationalize its legitimacy. These histories, like the text accompanying many maps from the first quarter of the century, included marginal references to Tacitus, Pliny, and Strabo that at once legitimated the scholarship of the author and the roots of the republican nation. Both Grotius and Scriverius emphasized the distinction of the Batavians from their neighbors, the Belgae, Gauls, and Frisians. Grotius noted the Batavians' hardiness, piety, bravery, frugality, industriousness, and love of liberty. He especially remarked upon their special exemption from tribute payments to

ancient Rome, and their refusal to tolerate any absolute sovereign, but rather their governance by popular assemblies, which he called *Ordini Batavorum*.

For seventeenth-century humanists, the Batavians were immigrants who cultivated and dominated through perseverance and industriousness what had been a *res nullius*, a desolate and uninhabited country, and through wise leadership, created the institutions of civilization. As much can be seen in Hondius's engraving from the *Rerum . . . historia*, where Batavia is shown as the territorial precedent to the province of Holland (figure 13). Possession won by war with the Romans and subsequent development of the land earned Hollanders—and more generally, the Dutch—the right to autonomy. Clearly, such rhetoric was meant to appeal to citizens of a new nation, defending its autonomy from an absolutist monarch. Reclaimed land physically and literally helped build this national mythology, and was the kind of historical rhetoric used by Grotius in his histories as well as his jurisprudence.

For Visscher, as a Calvinist geographer, the maps of the Republic and its hard-won territories also provided an opportunity to affirm the belief that objective description of creation glorified God.⁵¹ By allowing him to focus on geography and topography, maps of the new Republic helped Visscher assert himself as a righteous artisan, dutifully contributing to the community by producing things that helped viewers *see* God's creation and the blessings He provided for Hollanders. Bakker interpreted Visscher's early landscapes as "a carefully considered pictorial justification of his activity as an artist and publisher . . . his artistic imitation of the visible world [provided] the key to understanding it, by emphasizing that creation refers to its divine maker and keeper, and contains spiritual and everyday lessons in life for those capable of acute observation."⁵² This could easily extend to maps. As Barlaeus advocated, entrepreneurial profit could be justified if done faithfully and for the good of the communal whole. This context was expanded to include overseas territories as well, and in 1638, at the height of WIC power in the Atlantic, the Calvinist minister Godefridus Udemans wrote in the dedicatory letter to the VOC's *Heren VII* and WIC's *Heren XIX* of his guide to Christian commerce, *'t Geestelijk roer van 't Coopmans schip* ("The Spiritual Rudder of the Merchant's Ship" or "Spiritual Guide to Commerce"—*koopmansschap*), that "commerce is an honest activity, as long as it is pursued in the justice and fear of the Lord."⁵³

Maps and prints for public consumption demonstrate how the Dutch organized space and society pictorially, and attributed this control and organization to their own ingenuity, industry, and institutions, clearly blessed by



13. "Hollandiae Chorographia" (detail of Batavia), in Johannes Pontanus *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium historia* (Amsterdam: Jodocus Hondius, 1611). James Ford Bell Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota. (Author photo.)

God. Visscher decorated the 1608 ordinance map to be more than simply an official government map: it depicts historical land ownership and control of water, and it also explains and glorifies new development in the accompanying vignettes and text (figure 8). Here, Dutch industry is placed within the efficient, simple, and legible grid. Similarly, the Beemster map presented

the ideal for land organization in rational, rectangular quadrants. In the Beemster map, the regularization speaks for itself: the grid is the product of human technology and rationality, efficiently parceling out plots to be farmed, sold, and taxed.

The Grid, Private Property, and the Commonwealth

Reclaimed land was organized according to contemporary ideas that emphasized proprietary development and eased bureaucratic oversight (be it commercial or governmental), but polder maps had not always been as regularized or popularly consumed as the prints above would indicate.⁵⁴ The tradition of the long rectangular plot perpendicular to water was used by Grotius in the *Inleydinghe tot de Hollandsche rechtsgheleerdheyd* (Jurisprudence of Holland, 1631) to help explain rights of property ownership and distinguish between private and common. It is not coincidental that the *verponding*, or land tax, was regulated in Holland in 1632, just one year after *The Jurisprudence of Holland* was published and most of the drainage projects had been completed.⁵⁵ The organization of the land by investors and the role of the *waterschappen* (polder and drainage boards) needed contracts to define the nature of the relationships among land owners, and between landowners and government. In the Netherlands, where land is in short supply and the country is highly urbanized, land is and has long been a valuable commodity, and capitalist agriculture required a system whereby the individual proprietor could exploit resources. Exclusive rights to these resources demanded contracts in the form of secure titles. In the Netherlands, cadastral maps were the outgrowth of the mercantile urban centers and their governing systems expanding outward into the country and reclaimed lakes.

Since at least the fifteenth century, local residents' land rights and protection were defined and taxed by locally elected *waterschappen*, regional *heemraadschappen*, and provincial *hoogheemraadschappen*. Notably, this was not a system where each owner was responsible for the polder on his property, but rather a public and democratically governed trust. The shared responsibility of maintaining polders and dikes allowed surrounding farmers to focus on agriculture, exercising various rights to act on the land: to graze animals, harvest peat and manure for fuel and fertilization, hunt, fish, and so forth.⁵⁶ In a modern sense of property, ownership is exclusionary, where an owner can deny the right of action to anyone else.⁵⁷ However, under polder councils, tenant farmers paid taxes to their local water management council for equitable water management and maintenance of local dikes and sluices. The *waterschappen* were made up of the dike reeve, a representative of the Count

of Holland, and *dijkschepenen* or *heemraden* (board representatives), who were elected inhabitants of the area.⁵⁸ Traditionally, the Count of Holland shared authority with the water council.

The *waterschappen* used maps to plan, tax, resolve proprietary disputes, and publicize their work as needed. Many of these maps remain in *waterschappen* archives.⁵⁹ *Waterschappen* polder maps laid out the division of land in order to link management to particular councils and reeves. Some water councils commissioned printed maps not only for planning, taxation, and maintenance purposes, but also to assert jurisdictional territory and the authority of the council and the dike reeve. Polder maps might include the coats of arms of the authority and the reeve, along with allegorical engravings and the kind of laudatory poems Vondel had penned for Karel Looten about the Beemster.⁶⁰ The cost of these printed maps was often recouped in dike taxes. Early print editions of such official polder maps were small—one hundred in the largest *hoogheemraadschap* (Rijnland) in 1647, with the exception being those reclamation projects funded by private capital.⁶¹

Water management maps served local needs. When Charles V had challenged the local autonomy of the *waterschappen* by instituting a centralized and remote hydraulic administration in 1544, he had met with stubborn resistance. Indeed, it was Charles's desire to increase his income to pay for his wars that led him to survey the lands he claimed in North Holland.⁶² The Beemster, as a merchant enterprise, seemed separate from the state, even though its investors included burgomasters. Unlike earlier *waterschappen*, the Beemster reclamation was a privately funded enterprise. The grid now was the picture of capitalist enterprise enforced by government, as well as (moral) control, and pride. As such, maps of it were a form of propaganda. It was Dutch industriousness and rationality that physically formed the Beemster, and Dutch industriousness and bravery also were perceived to have contributed to the independence of the Dutch nation.

The benefit to the commonality of this reclaimed land, promoted by the rhetoric in printed images and texts, was not because these spaces were public commons, however. Rather, the "commonality" implicitly referenced those citizens who served in official governmental capacity, and/or increased the wealth of the state through their trade, not the locals who had prior use of the area. The investors ventured money to create land plots to which they could retreat, or that would yield commercial rents and profit from husbandry or agriculture. Those who rented the new land farmed it to supply the cities' markets, as Visscher emphasized in his profile view from 1611 and the vignettes to the 1608 water map discussed above. In short, plot delineation was a way to simplify merchants' and government officials' record keeping.

It enclosed land, making it exclusionary and private, saleable and taxable, rather than creating a commonly held area where various rights of use might have been locally negotiated, such as the gathering of clay fertilizer or fishing. As delineated plots sold or leased as fee simple, the land became alienable in that rights were exclusive to owners, and it could be taxable as such, although landowners of the Beemster were exempt from taxes from the States of Holland until 1621, when the return to war required more funds.⁶³

The kind of local organization of land and water for civic development and taxation clearly influenced how Grotius drafted his legal arguments for divisible sovereignty, taxation, and other matters of governance in Holland. Since 1599, Grotius had practiced law in The Hague, and became close with van Oldenbarnevelt. Grotius's promotion to *advocaat fiscaal* (solicitor general) in 1607 coincided with the beginning of the Beemster project and his drafting of initial ideas on property and its relation to the individual and the state in *De jure praedae* (On the law of prize and booty) in 1604–6. These ideas were codified in the *Jurisprudence of Holland* from 1631.

History, tradition, and contemporary economic rationalism informed Grotius's arguments. The traditional method of delineation in long rectilinear plots perpendicular to a water source reflected how Grotius conceived the nature of property and ownership. He radically redefined property so that its default definition was exclusionary and private, rather than public.⁶⁴ He begins book 2 of the *Jurisprudence* on "Rights" (*Beheering*) with the classification of things, the right of possession, and ownership. Grotius's conception of the exclusivity of property rights was extrapolated from his understanding of the natural law of self-preservation. He justified exclusive private property as the necessary means for man to fulfill his divinely imposed obligation to preserve himself, and followed that every man will rationally agree (tacitly or by contract) to abstain from violating another man's property. *Suum* (to each his own/that which belongs to an individual) was initially the right to preservation of life, limbs, and personal liberty—this he extended to rights that included "power, now over oneself, which is called freedom, now over others, as that of the father and that of the master over slaves; ownership, either absolute, or less than absolute, as usufruct and the right of pledge; and contractual rights, to which on the other side contractual obligations correspond."⁶⁵ In its developed form, Grotius's theory of property provided a foundation for a social system that was supposed to be more effective in preserving human beings—it was an approach to social order where each person's obligation to *not* infringe on the rights of others while looking out for one's own rights creates social harmony—an idealistic sentiment also expressed by Barlaeus in his desire for mutual love to be found in trade

and wisdom. Grotius, following Aristotle, believed civilization to be the cultivation of land for the shared good of society and that all individuals should contribute to the commonality. The mode by which that contribution could be assessed was, for Grotius, through the state and its institutions. A developed civil society, for Grotius, *required* private property, owned and occupied, so that it could be cultivated by individuals, and then assessed by institutions for the common good:

The whole community should have a higher right over the property of its citizens than the citizens themselves, not only because the members and everything belonging to the members must be applied to the preservation of the body corporate, without which the members cannot be preserved, but also because experience of human failings taught that without further laws the peace of the citizen and the undisturbed possession of property could not long continue.⁶⁶

Grotius extended *suum* based on his understanding of history from Christian-humanist sources and observed practices in Holland. Grotius's definition of property as exclusive was achieved by adaptations and developments of original use right. He built upon these and current practices in the Netherlands.⁶⁷ Grotius thereby argued that self-preservation included rights to ownership by possession of property. In chapter 1, points 3 and 4, of *Jurisprudence of Holland*, Grotius defines "things" as "external to man and in any way useful to man. Things are divided according to their nature or in relation to man." In point 6, a plot of land is classified as a single thing, and point 12 classifies houses and land as immovable property.⁶⁸ Grotius states in points 16 and 17 that "all things belong to either all men in common, or to some community of men, or to individuals, or no one."⁶⁹ Grotius continues to define what "rights" belong to a person: he includes freedom and honor, and, significantly, continues to explain how a person comes to have the rights to "alienable things . . . which by their nature can belong to one person as well as to another . . . commonly called 'goods' or 'possessions.'"⁷⁰ This is a major shift in thought. Now alienable things, external goods, are *also* part of an individual's personhood and identity—his subjectivity. As Kester noted, "One becomes a subject through the act of possessing things as property. This socially and historically contingent act is at the same time founded on an inherent capacity of the human subject; it brings this subject into harmony with universal moral laws. Labor and property are linked by the power attributed to labor in transforming both nature, and crucially, the laboring subject."⁷¹ Hence, the system of property ownership and labor

is necessarily social, perpetuating the individual's role within society and the system. For Grotius, the action taken by the individual to develop and cultivate his own land is by nature virtuous, and that virtue is reified as a contribution to the commonality—a theme that was iterated in prints, as discussed above.

It is not a given, however, that land is exclusive property. As early as 1604, when Grotius began *De jure praedae*, he argued that all property (*proprietas*) arose from occupation, and that ownership (*dominium*) is equal to exclusive possession. According to Grotius, while the seas cannot be occupied, and therefore cannot be possessed or privately owned, and are therefore, common, he had to spend some time rationalizing ownership of land. First, he defined it as a thing, as per above. Second, ownership was contingent on occupation. Third, rights of property are based on contractual agreements between men. "Property," then, is "a particular kind of proprietorship, such in fact that it absolutely excludes like possession by anyone else." This makes "property" private by definition and therefore in need of contractual relationships between men. Grotius argues that common property in his time (as opposed to former conceptions of commons) is also exclusionary. "We call a thing 'common' when its ownership or possession (*proprietas*) is held by several persons jointly according to a kind of partnership or mutual agreement from which all other persons are excluded."⁷² In this sense, common ownership is nothing more than contractually agreed upon exclusive rights, shared among owners. Anything that is common or unpossessed by an individual—such as water—is the property of the Commonwealth.⁷³ In chapter 28, "Of Ownership in Common, and, in Particular, of Joint Inheritance and of the Ownership of Adjoining Lands," Grotius maintains in the seventh point: "In many parts of Holland the custom is for apportionment to be made lengthways, not breadthways or across, and to begin dividing from seaside inland."⁷⁴ Here, the water serves as the "common" space, corresponding to the publicly organized dikes, while the arable land is owned and cultivated privately.

Even in the most laissez-faire of economies, capitalist markets cannot function unless there are organizing and enforceable regulations. The legal arguments offered in the *Jurisprudence of Holland* were meant to order society for the common good through regulating the relationships between individuals who own things. Martine van Ittersum cogently argued that Grotius's jurisprudence grew from practical needs of merchants in the expansionist political climate of the Republic in the first decade of the century. Specifically, she contends that he developed his "radical rights and contract theories" to defend the actions of the VOC.⁷⁵ She emphasizes that Grotius wrote

De jure praedae, of which the more famous *Mare liberum* (Free Seas, published 1609) is the twelfth chapter, not for short-term gain by the VOC after its confiscation of the Portuguese vessel *Santa Caterina*, but rather to set up a systematic theory of rights and contract obligations and their enforcement.⁷⁶ For Grotius, the natural law principle of *pacta sunt servanda* (treaties must be honored) was paramount above all—the VOC used it to enforce contracts into which Asian rulers were coerced and from which they could not escape. As we have seen, Grotius's contract theory was important at home as well as abroad: it was predicated on his conception of exclusionary ownership, which was necessary to legitimate the rights of the merchants, proprietary owners within Holland, who provided the capital for and owned the newly made land, and contributed to the bureaucracy endemic to both liberal-rationalist statecraft and capitalism.

Visscher and other publishers probably did not consciously incorporate Grotius's theories, but rather, the needs of their society dictated their production for the purposes of taxation, social order, legal support, and individual and corporate display of accumulated wealth. Grotius had laid the foundations for a capitalist logic within his political theory, and for how to picture it by visually enclosing properties and territories with lines, denoting exclusivity. In seventeenth-century Dutch maps, belief, political will, and humanist logic came together to create a capitalist episteme that was pictorially reinforced.

The maps discussed here show a unified picture of expanding territory controlled and developed by corporate bodies empowered by the state through prints of commercial exchange, industry, and international trade and colonization. Capitalism became the organizing social system in the Dutch Republic and printed maps reinforced its rationalist logic of efficiency, regularization, and industry. Such imagery presented a picture of stability, and unified disparate parties in a period fraught with political and economic instability at home and abroad. At the same time, there was a marked anxiety about the increasing affluence of merchants, and a variety of texts served as apologetics for the honorable and pious role the "wise merchant" described by Barlaeus could serve for the greater good of society. Prints, and maps especially, reinforced the theme of exceptionalism and mirrored rationalist legal arguments for capitalist expansion. These ideas circulated among the humanists and merchants in Holland and were included in the printed maps that define the Golden Age of the Dutch Republic historically and geographically. We will see in the colonies of New Holland (Brazil) and New Netherland how these ideas were employed pictorially and, to an extent, were challenged.

FOUR

Profit and Possession in Brazil

Whoever reads this will agree that the Company, Count Johan Maurits, and the Supreme Council have left nothing undone that can promote the public good. They have sought to acquire profit by means of warfare, trade, and expansion of territory. Forests, mountains, rivers, or seas could not stop their quest for gain. Respect for money is so strong that it dares man to do the extraordinary and enables him to do the incredible, whether this means looking for hidden wealth or grasping for palpable riches. Nevertheless, present and recently acquired wealth does not make a man happy, and the desire to search for riches creates great misery.¹

—Caspar Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia*, 1647

Nothing is more profitable than the sugar trade, except for the large revenues from taxation, duties and tolls.²

—Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, report to WIC directors, ca. 1644

In 1647, three years after Count Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen was recalled from Brazil by the directors of the West India Company, Caspar Barlaeus wrote a history of the former governor general's tenure there. Johan Maurits commissioned the work as a means to disseminate his good reputation as a magnanimous leader, skilled commander, generous patron, and inquisitive scholar—the ideal Renaissance Prince. Barlaeus not only used the opportunity to underscore the benevolence of Johan Maurits toward the greater good of society through his initiatives toward profit making, but also to show how Johan Maurits worked with and advised the directors of the West India Company (WIC) for the benefit of the nation as a whole. Echoing neo-Stoic ideals, in Barlaeus's account the wise humanist prince led a wealthy electorate and sought profit not for himself, but for the good of all—in this case, via his role as governor general for the Company. Here again, virtuous action was linked to profit and good governance, and these values were personified in the ideals and actions of Johan Maurits.

Yet before Johan Maurits was even in Brazil, Claes Jansz Visscher had

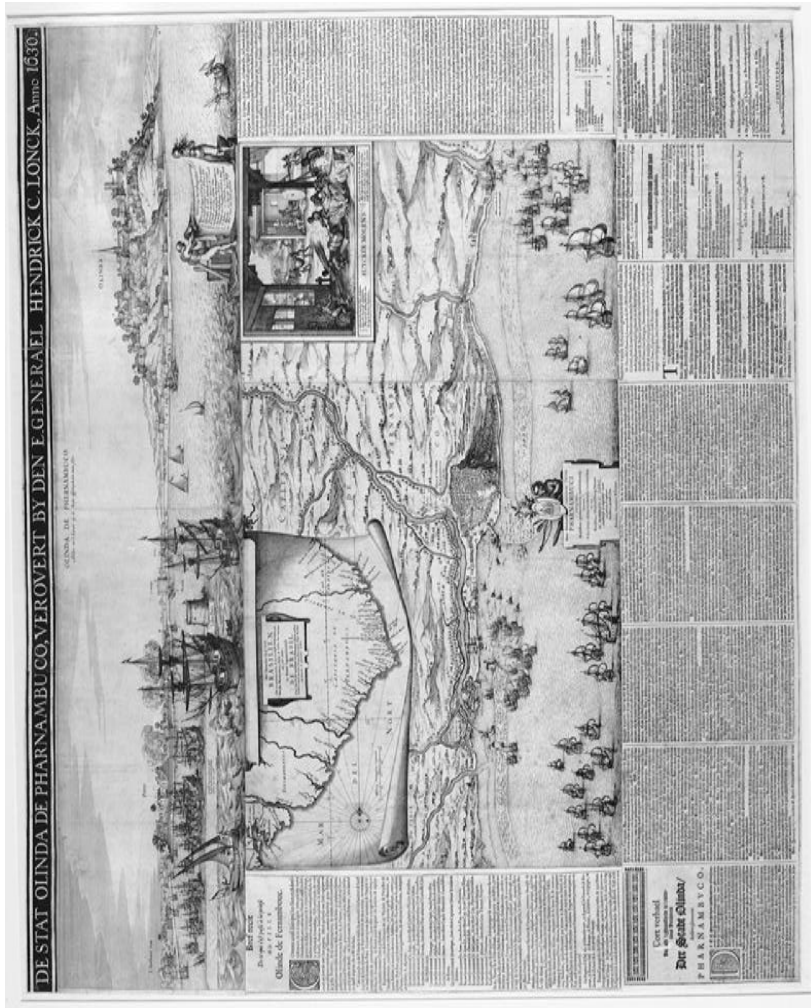
been the publisher chosen by the WIC to present official messages about Dutch exploits there. As Michiel van Groesen has shown, Visscher's news maps of the Dutch conquests of Salvador de Bahía in May 1624 and Recife and Olinda in February 1630 were important material for constructing "a collective patriotic identity geared towards further action."³ Indeed, van Groesen points out how the conquest and subsequent loss in April 1625 of Salvador de Bahía shaped how the WIC prepared for its 1630 mission and dissemination of news about it. These early maps of Brazil, published by Visscher in collaboration with official VOC and WIC cartographer Hessel Gerritszoon, set the stage for the kind of information about Brazil that would follow in Barlaeus's history, published by Joan Blaeu in 1647, and in Visscher's response, the 1648 map of Recife. Visscher's official news maps and Blaeu and Barlaeus's illustrated history used elite networks to obtain information and print a particular story about Dutch Brazil for a wide audience. The maps of Brazil published by Visscher and Blaeu (figures 14–17) present a synthesis of Dutch military, commercial, and colonial success for the WIC. Visual cues evinced legal possession and economic stability. They defined cities and open land available for cultivation; waterways for transport, defense, and power; and stands of brazilwood and fields of sugar cane being made into commodities by the tools of human industry. These prints corroborated Dutch claims to the land and its resources by visually engaging with Grotius's legal theories of possession. These views of land and law were inextricable from each other, and from the Dutch concept of civilization and ownership. The maps and associated views emphasized possession by depicting land as being controlled by the technologies employed for government and commerce. The compositional familiarity of these maps helped readers to visualize the domestication of land abroad by means similar to those which were being used to claim territory for the Dutch in Europe.

I use maps of Brazil printed by Visscher in 1630 and 1648, and those published by Blaeu in Barlaeus's *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia* (1647), to explore how the possession of land, resources, and waterways by the WIC was presented and pictorially rationalized. I also discuss how under Johan Maurits the planned city of Mauritsstad followed the grid plan for an ideal city that maximized commercial and military efficiency and by design, organized and controlled individuals' actions in the community. Finally, I consider how the humanist ideals of Grotius and Barlaeus, where profit benefited the greater good, were corrupted by the industrialization of sugar processing and its concomitant dehumanization of laboring African slaves in the face of efficient production and the profit to be had.

In the first charter granted to the WIC by the States General on June 3,

1621, the Company was given the right to “colonize fruitful and unpeopled lands, and to do everything necessary for the service of the nation and for the profit and increase of its trade.”⁴ The concept of an unpeopled (*res nullius*) and as yet undeveloped area (*terrarum deserta*) was very important to Grotius’s concept of legitimate possession. On maps, spaces indicated what was to the WIC and its agents empty and possessed by no one (*res nullius*). Emphases on institutional buildings and emblems of industry showed development by humans. Where there was not an indication of people, or where they wanted to assert control, the socially and economically efficient grid was imposed onto the land to control it, people, and the movement of resources. On previously existing plantations, the Dutch showed their production and industry. In Brazil the land corporate merchant companies appropriated was not simply claimed from the sea as it had been at home, but it was already inhabited by various indigenous groups, by then also embattled by Portuguese colonists. To be sure, the WIC sought out and accepted indigenous assistance for intelligence and labor as benefited its own interests.⁵ Yet, their agency was co-opted by the rights of the Company and shareholders’ interests in the bottom line; rights that were legitimated by Grotian arguments.

Visscher’s 1630 map of Pernambuco (figure 14) consists of four conjoined sheets. At over one meter square, it was meant to hang proudly on the walls of Dutch merchants’ townhouses and offices, and evidently it did, if genre paintings and inventories are any indication (see chapter 2). It is estimated that by the 1660s, each VOC and WIC office in the Netherlands was decorated with ten to sixty paintings and wall maps, as were the palaces of stadholder Frederik Hendrik, indicating the education, military, and economic power of the respective patrons.⁶ Johan Maurits similarly sought to decorate his palaces in Brazil with large-scale paintings of local flora, fauna, and peoples in order to project his status.⁷ The folio maps and views of Dutch Brazil in Barlaeus’s *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia* published by Joan Blaeu (figures 15–17) were also intended for a fairly wealthy readership. In addition to the folio with text, Blaeu sold a multi-sheet wall map based on the prints in Barlaeus’s folio, and the maps were also included in the later *Atlas Maior*.⁸ Not many maps of Brazil were published during the territory’s possession by the Dutch from 1630 to 1654, but these few provided investors and readers interested in the New World with two formats for learning about Dutch conquests in Brazil. Visscher later created a more economical map in the single-sheet folio of Recife, from 1648 (figure 18). Visscher notes in the cartouche of his 1648 map that it is based on a map drawn by Cornelis Golijath, Johan Maurits’s surveyor and mapmaker, and this reference to



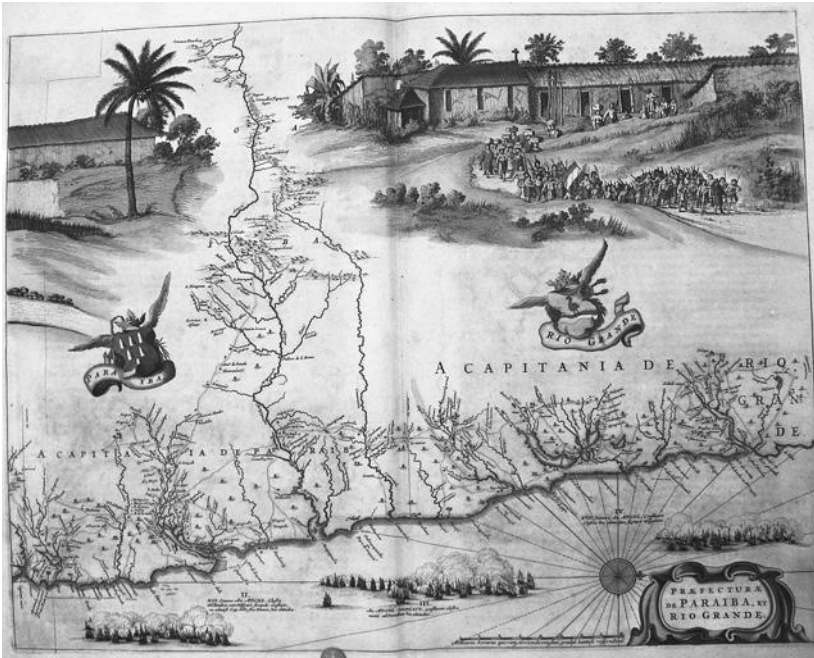
14. Claes Jansz Visscher (etched by his workshop), "De Stat Olinda de Pharnambuco," 1630. Four plates: I 18.3 x 46.3 cm; II 18.3 x 46.3 cm; III 36 x 46.4 cm; IV 36 x 22.6 cm. Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam. a0145 (130).



15. Joan Blaeu, "Paranambucae pars Borealis," after Georg Marcgraf, from *Le Grande Atlas*, vol. 12 (Amsterdam, Joan Blaeu, 1667), 53.3 x 40.6 cm, originally published in Caspar Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia* (Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1647). James Ford Bell Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota. (Author photo.)

an authoritative source is echoed in the advertisement for it.⁹ Barlaeus and Blaeu also had access to documents and maps created during Johan Maurits's governorship period. The engravings within the *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia* are predominantly derived from surveys taken by Johan Maurits's artist Frans Post, scientist George Marcgraf, and Golijath.¹⁰ Post's landscape vistas complement the maps after Marcgraf and Golijath and help to create a holistic topographical and chorographical picture.

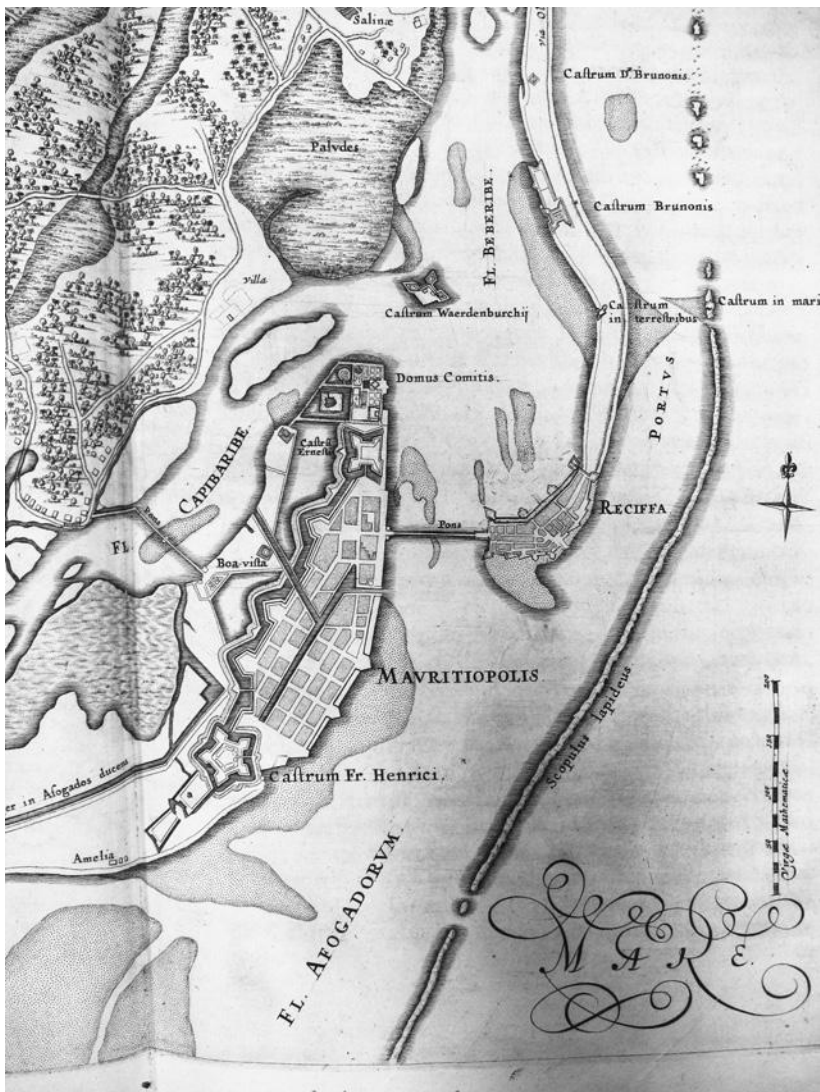
The years 1630 and 1648 mark important points in the WIC's actions in Brazil. Early on, maps helped to define the territories the United Provinces, via the WIC, claimed abroad, as they also did at home. Later, when embattled afar and domestically, WIC maps showed a picture of control. In 1647, after two years of deliberation and plummeting stock prices, the WIC's charter was renewed.¹¹ In 1648, Spain recognized the Dutch Republic's sovereignty at the Peace of Westphalia, ending the Eighty-Years War, although not all of the provinces were eager to sign on.¹² The symbolic system that contrasted defined and developed cities to open and undeveloped areas un-



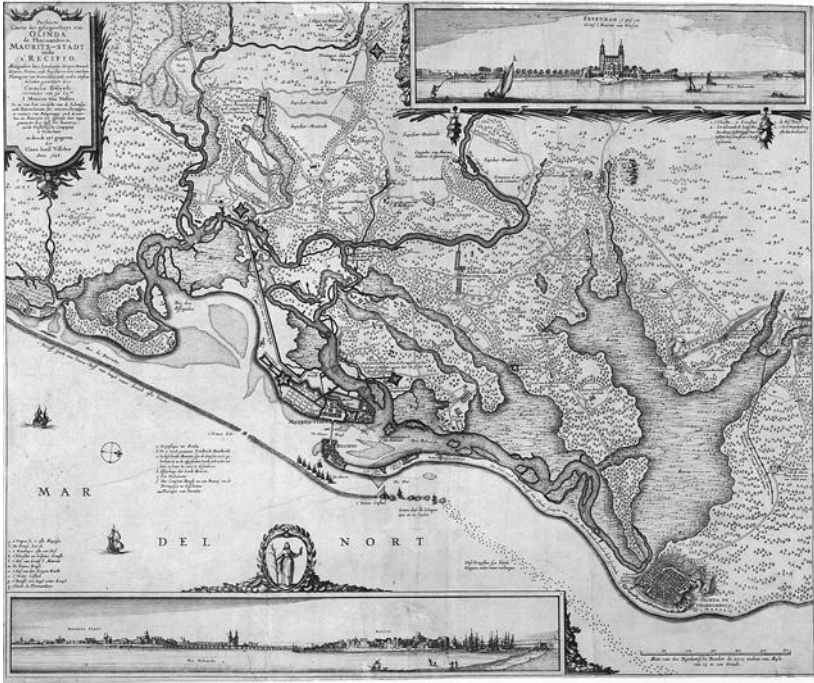
16. Joan Blaeu, "Praefecturae de Parayba en Rio Grande," after Georg Marcgraf, from *Le Grande Atlas*, vol. 12 (Amsterdam, Joan Blaeu, 1667), 53.8 x 50 cm, originally published in Caspar Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia* (Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1647). James Ford Bell Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota. (Author photo.)

derscored the Republic's status as a global, commercial, and civilized nation during a crucial period of national identity formation.

Visscher capitalized on his access to authorized information. He had already collaborated with Hessel Gerritszoon on earlier maps: two depicting the conquest of Bahía in 1624 and another detailing Piet Heyn's capture of the Spanish silver fleet off Cuba in 1628.¹³ Like his maps of domestic conquests from the 1620s, these maps were meant to convey news and commemorate the events depicted and were economical in size and price. Because of the militaristic nature of the initial forays into Brazil, the manuscript maps that WIC captains and surveyors brought back with them to the Netherlands remained privy to those select few with access to WIC intelligence. Visscher, however, was specifically given the rights to publish WIC news from Brazil.¹⁴ The maps Visscher engraved and published under WIC sanction before 1632 were drawn by Gerritszoon based on manuscript maps and logs that ship captains surrendered to the WIC for its archives. Since



17. "Mauritiopolis Reciffa et circum Iacencia castra." Plan of Recife and Mauritiopolis, after Pistor and Golijath, in Caspar Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia* (Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1647), 53.3 x 40.6 cm. James Ford Bell Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota. (Author photo.)



18. Claes Jansz Visscher (possibly etched by P. Schut), "Olinda de Pharnambuco et Mauritsstadt et Recifo," 1648, 46.4 x 55.8 cm. Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam. a3143(03).

Visscher was instrumental in developing domestic military news maps into sheets that were at once pictorial and informational, such as the siege of 's Hertogenbosch, it was logical that the WIC would authorize Visscher to create the first map of Dutch conquest of Salvador Bay at Bahía in 1624 and follow up in 1630 with the map of Pernambuco, as well as later maps of Paraíba in 1634, Recife in 1648, and later, New Netherland, circa 1650. The maps of 1630 and 1648 maps are interesting because they provide examples of maps produced by Visscher at high and low points of WIC economic power in Brazil and the Amsterdam Bourse. Indeed, as much is reflected simply by their respective sizes: multi-sheet in 1630, and single sheet in 1648.

As for Joan Blaeu, he followed his father Willem's inroads with the merchant trading companies, becoming another publisher who frequently issued maps of WIC territories. No official WIC mapmaker was appointed after 1632, when Gerritszoon died.¹⁵ During the 1620s and 1630s, it seems

highly likely that it was Visscher who had access to the WIC's collection of manuscript maps, rather than the Blaeus. The maps Visscher engraved and published under WIC sanction before 1632 were drawn by Gerritszoon based on charts and logs that ship captains surrendered to WIC officials, and the prints include Gerritszoon's name. After Gerritszoon's death in 1632, his notes were deposited in the West India House in Amsterdam. With the end of the twelve-year truce and resumption of war in 1621, Visscher debuted military news maps as a moneymaker that appealed to all segments of the citizenry. Around the same time, Gerritszoon collaborated with WIC director Johannes de Laet to put maps of WIC territories into print. His maps (engraver unknown) were printed in de Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt* (1625), and de Laet would use them to compile intelligence for Johan Maurits in a manuscript he prepared circa 1636 to assist Johan Maurits as governor in Brazil.¹⁶ de Laet later included the Gerritszoon/Visscher maps of Brazil in his history of the WIC from 1644, the *Historie ofte Jaerlycke Verhael*.¹⁷

It has been assumed that the Blaeus were used by the WIC because Willem became the VOC's cartographer, because of their later dominance in map publishing, and because of personal and business connections between that family and the prominent families of Amsterdam.¹⁸ However, given Visscher's authorization for making WIC maps is indicated in contemporary corantos, his prior collaboration with Gerritszoon, and his innovations in (and privileges for) publishing military news maps, it seems more likely that it was to Visscher whom the WIC turned first. Moreover, Visscher shared the Reformed Calvinist faith with Gerritszoon, Johannes de Laet, and many of the initial WIC directors who had been immigrants from Antwerp. The choice by WIC directors to use Gerritszoon as official cartographer early on rather than Blaeu, who was Remonstrant, may have been partially political in the years around 1621, just three years after the Synod of Dort and political shake-up of the country. Thus, Visscher would have been a logical successor.

Visscher especially capitalized on the demand for nationalistic propaganda at times of significant political discord in the Republic. As per above, at least three of the maps related to Brazilian news by Visscher were advertised in Broer Janszoon or Jan van Hilten's corantos, indicating both his desire to sell, and his acknowledgement from others in the industry. Like the domestic battle news maps, the printed maps of Dutch-controlled Brazil formed part of a confidence building and unifying use of the print media. They also served as sources of knowledge about Dutch conquest overseas and thus contributed to and reinforced conceptions of the imaged and imagined global Dutch community.¹⁹

Printed maps of Brazil reflected the land management policies of the WIC, themselves influenced by policies operating in Holland and the provinces, and officials' respective pragmatic and moral philosophies about land, law, and civilization. As we have seen, Roman law interpreted by Grotius provided the model by which land could be organized as property and, as such, commodified.²⁰ Part of his argument was how land could be possessed and thereby owned exclusively by an individual or corporate body. In Roman law, ownership (*dominium*) was indicated by occupation (*occupatio*) and control (factual possession—*possessio*), and therefore implied exclusionary boundaries. Government-backed corporations like the WIC could use maps not only as navigational charts and sources of knowledge, but also as proof of possession. By using maps that visualized their control of the land, they were able to make a better claim to territory than competing nations.²¹ Maps of Dutch territories visually share the language of texts that emphasized the built environment, the cultivation of land, and the strategic use of waterways. Taken together, the combination of city profile, topographical view, and vignette depicted the city as developed: that is, physically built by and of the institutions that regulated society and its products, and distinct from the uncultivated and open areas or belonging to no one. These pictorial elements reinforced the WIC's possession of Brazil and its natural resources at critical points in time for the WIC. The maps presented Brazil as a secure and stable colony, a place worthy of investment. In actuality, the WIC's control of Brazil's captaincies was anything but certain.

Visscher's WIC-Authorized Map of Pernambuco

The plans for Brazilian conquest began with the end of the twelve-year truce with Spain and the founding of the WIC in 1621. It took almost three years for the fledgling WIC to obtain sufficient capital to send a fleet to South America to challenge Hapsburg hegemony in the Atlantic.²² Yet even during those years, the decision to focus on the conquest of Brazil by no means had been unanimous among the WIC's directors. From the outset, settlements that promoted economic benefits for the "fatherland" were part of the WIC and States General's goals, and one of the arguments in favor of Brazilian conquest suggested that

people of modest means will try their luck and go and live for some years, occupying themselves with planting and grinding sugar, growing tobacco, setting up small shops or crafts, or doing something else which will enable them to save something and return here to the fatherland again, just as the

emigrants from Spain and Portugal daily do, so that the commonweal will be enriched thereby. Moreover, we will then fully control the trade of Cape Verde, Guinea and Angola, since we will then enjoy the Brazil slave-trade which will be most profitable.²³

Colonization, along with control of the slave trade, would make Brazil profitable by way of possessing Portuguese plantations and co-opting sugar production, and levying duties on related imports and exports. Because Bahía was already an economic and operational center for the Portuguese, the WIC directors decided to set their sights there first.

In May of 1624, Admiral Jacob Willekens and Vice Admiral Piet Heyn led the Dutch fleet to the Bay of Salvador de Bahía and defeated the Portuguese. This first Dutch victory in the Atlantic provided a much-needed boost for the young Company and fueled the growth of Dutch unity and nationalism just after the contentious 1619 trials and continued religious and political divisiveness at home. Corantos trumpeted the news by the end of August, and Visscher published his news map in the first week of September, quickly presenting the WIC-sanctioned description of the glorious event.²⁴ However, because they underestimated the speed and power behind the Iberian response, the Dutch lost Bahía in the spring of 1625, and it reverted to Portuguese control.²⁵

The WIC continued to pursue control of northeast Brazil, and in 1630 Admiral Hendrick Lonck and his fleet overpowered Olinda and Recife. Visscher again published the WIC's successful military activity (figure 14). With the events of 1624–25 still fresh in mind, the 1630 event was a vindication. The map celebrating the victory was four times the size of the 1624 map of Salvador de Bahía, and was issued in both French and Dutch. Indicating his support of the official story of conquest, Visscher dedicated the map to Lonck and the text was based on the official proclamation of victory from Recife by Colonel van Waerdenburgh in March, which he had sent to the *Heren XIX*, and which the States General had published. Both the map and Waerdenburgh's account of victory were widely copied, the latter quickly being translated into English, German, and Latin.²⁶

Indeed, Visscher proclaims that everything in the map was drawn from life: "*Aldus na 't Leven op de Rede afgheteyckent anno 1630.*" Below, the island of Antonio Vaz, Recife (called Povo on the map), and Olinda are depicted in profile. In the central topographical view, the conquered Portuguese town of Olinda is shown in plan, surrounded by rivers that converge in the harbor between Recife and Olinda. A *cartellino* on the left shows the northeast coastline of Brazil, while a vignette on the right illustrates enslaved Africans

processing sugar. Nude Native Americans hold a cartouche identifying the important locations at Recife, including the location of the yard where ships were built and repaired (1 on the key), Recife's church (5), the sugar warehouses (6), here set on fire by the fleeing Portuguese (called "Spanish" in the key), an earthen wall with bulwarks (7), and a new wooden bridge (13). A fleet of Dutch ships commands the harbor.

In this map, Visscher repurposed the visual language already used for views and plans of European cities, used now for Recife and Olinda. He combined profile, topographical view, and vignette, thereby domesticating these towns by incorporating them into the schema familiar from maps and views of established European nations.²⁷ Here, the profile view emphasizes those buildings that identify Recife as a developed city: churches, warehouses, homes, and protective wall, each clarified by the key. That the buildings were constructed by the Portuguese before the Dutch conquest was irrelevant; the goal was to show Recife as a cultivated and organized community. Significantly, Visscher included the destruction of the warehouses by the Portuguese. This act indicated Portuguese abandonment, and therefore, the availability of the warehouses for Dutch possession. The Dutch ships in the harbor command the port and rivers, while the vast expanse of forest extends beyond the edges of the cities.

In contrast to the details of the built city and its commercial activity, the center area presents a general topographical view of Pernambuco. The broad expanse dotted by trees signifies open countryside, an uncultivated area rich in resources waiting to be developed by human industry. The cities, defined in plan and profile, provide a visual juxtaposition of the built, organized urban environment to the open land. Linking the two are the rivers—waterways used both for transport of goods and defense—along with the framed vignette showing sugar production.

Since before the founding of the WIC, sugar had been one of the principal commodities on which Dutch merchants had set their sights. The lure of sugar in Brazil was a common theme in such printed publications from the 1620s as Nicholas van Wassenaar's news almanacs and the small *Reyse-boeck van het Rijke Brasiliën . . .*, published in Dordrecht in 1624. The sugar mill in Visscher's inset is similar to the rendering of a mill pictured in the 1624 *Reyse-boeck*.²⁸ Visscher enclosed the process of sugar production within a square frame that serves to separate this industry from uncultivated land at the left. Within the frame, African slaves demonstrate each part of the process of sugar production, which is also described in the key below. In the left foreground, two slaves harvest cane, to be pressed by the slaves at the mill in the background. In the right foreground, three slaves boil the juice

and separate the distilled syrup from the pulpy by-product (*dram*). Sugar, as a product of cultivated land, is shown here being processed and made into a refined commodity by the mechanisms and labor of man and machine. This product, in turn, is controlled by the Dutch. The frame creates a legible, defined space that functions as a visual metaphor for Dutch control of the sugar industry. The vignette depicts the refining of sugar for consumption, while the river visually links the commodity harvested from the interior to the harbor below. The ships in the harbor—in both the topographical and profile view—further underscore the fact that the WIC controls whatever goods arrive at or leave the Brazilian coast.

The profile view of Recife in Visscher's map, with its church, warehouses, shops, and homes signifying the developed city (now conquered and controlled by the Dutch ships in the harbor), resembles similar profile views in maps of Amsterdam. The WIC chose Recife as the headquarters of Dutch control because the city's location and level of development maximized their superior maritime power, militarily and commercially. Recife and the adjacent island of Antonio Vaz, where Mauritsstad was built, lie barely seven feet above sea level, a geographical situation to which the Dutch engineers were accustomed. Under governor general Johan Maurits, they proceeded to build dikes and canals to defend Recife against enemies and to assist transport of goods to and from the interior.

Johan Maurits and the Development of Recife and Mauritsstad

The WIC directors appointed Johan Maurits governor general of Brazil in 1636, and he arrived at Recife on January 23, 1637. He was a worldly man, trained in the humanist tradition and raised as a prince with all the privileges and responsibilities that that position entailed. His motto, *qua patet orbis* (as far as the world extends), showed his awareness of history and his ambitions for securing his place in it, as well as a presumption toward territorial expansion.²⁹ Upon his arrival, Johan Maurits immediately set out to expand the Dutch presence in Brazil via both military conquest and the establishment of such visual markers as buildings and renovations.³⁰ Yet after just seven years, in 1644, the directors ordered him to return to Holland. The reasons seem to have stemmed from his aristocratic conceptions of wealth and power, which clashed with the merchant directors' desire for thriftiness in business matters.³¹

Johan Maurits had been appointed governor general because of his prior successful military leadership in Europe.³² He indicated that he wanted to waste no time in adding to the land controlled by the Dutch, and his early

campaigns resulted in a spate of Dutch conquests in northeast Brazil.³³ He successfully won Port Calvo on the 18th of February, 1637, and throughout the rest of 1637, he claimed Frederikstad (Natal) and Fort Ceulen (formerly Magos Rios), the Portuguese strongholds north of Recife in the captaincy of Paraíba. He brought order to Recife, and inspected surrounding sugar mills and fortifications, demolishing some, and strengthening others.³⁴ He also directed the fleet that left Brazil in 1637 and successfully captured Elmina, the oldest Portuguese trading fort on the West Coast of Africa, in present-day Ghana, thereby securing the plan to control the slave trade. Finally, Johan Maurits began plans for a gridded town on Antonio Vaz that was to bear his name.

Significantly, Mauritsstad, like so much of Holland, was built on reclaimed land. The planned canals connecting the isthmus to Recife helped to drain the marshy land of the island in addition to providing defense and transport. Almost all of the settlements founded overseas by the Dutch were on coasts or at river mouths. Many were on landscapes of low-lying, marshy, clay ground that could be agriculturally developed. The Portuguese, in contrast, chose to settle and build forts in exactly opposite types of landscapes: high and dry.³⁵ This marshy land near water was available for development, and allowed the superior maritime forces of the Dutch to defend her coastal possessions.

Johan Maurits needed surveyors for both the military expeditions and the planning of his city on Antonio Vaz.³⁶ As a seasoned military commander, he certainly knew the castra plans of Simon Stevin. His staff, many of whom were trained in Leiden, must also have been well-versed in the regularity Stevin advocated.³⁷ Stevin's design for the ideal city in the chapter on cities in the *Materiae politicae* (1649) suggested a grid of streets fifty feet wide and blocks of buildings three hundred feet wide; these could be made wider or narrower as necessary (chapter 2, figure 4). As we have seen, Roman ideas in law and defensive organization came together at Leiden and were enacted in Europe on the battlefield as well as on reclaimed land such as the Beemster. Unsurprisingly, these ideals were translated by the Dutch overseas in a colonial context.

Ron van Oers has carefully laid out the order and rationale for Dutch colonial settlement planning and construction. To briefly summarize, he notes six aspects of technical-spatial information that were part of Dutch consciousness: the *genus loci*, or natural topographical features of the landscape, which were considered for strategic military, trade, or agricultural cultivation; the geodesic design that plotted the future settlement, probably according to basic principles concerning the space between the fort and the

buildings; cadastral information that recorded the proprietary rights to the plots; the military and civil engineering design; the relationship between the available space and its use; and significantly, an urban design with aesthetic potential, manifested in maps, plans and town views.³⁸ He suggests that the plan for Mauritsstad follows these ideals, many themselves derived from Stevin. In the twin cities of Recife-Mauritsstad, there is a long line from the hinterland to the harbor, via the bridge between Recife and Antonio Vaz (see figure 17). The line forms the primary axis of the ground plan, corresponding with Stevin's ideal.³⁹ The bastions of Fort Ernestus and Fort Frederik Hendrik mark the ends of the secondary axis. This axis was meant to connect the most important social and public buildings and spaces with each other. The streets were orthogonally patterned with large rectangular building blocks and canal as a backbone of the settlement. Its overarching spatial-functional organization was the forts established by the WIC and the settlement, which served trade and habitation purposes. Like most of Dutch colonial settlements, it was closed, surrounded and defended by water and ramparts.

Although Oers relates Stevin's ideal grid to democracy and the ability of people to participate in the city, the grid also demonstrates the significant role of the state—in Brazil, its official agent, the WIC and its appointed administrators—to control and regulate commerce. The public areas are markets and stock exchange, and it is clear that the duty of individuals here in society is to produce and sell export commodities and consume imports, both of which were taxed and freighted by the WIC in Brazil.⁴⁰ Moreover, as we have seen in the Beemster map, the grid regularized the reclaimed land for proprietary purposes and corresponding taxation—"box-filling" as it were. Indeed, Oers remarks that Stevin's scheme "is a sophisticated product of combined urban planning and military and civil engineering works in the service of trade and social virtues . . ." that it is "a product of 'pragmatic bourgeois mercantilist culture.'"⁴¹

The plan for Mauritsstad (figure 17), engraved after a chart drawn by surveyor Frederick Pistor around 1639, demonstrates how Johan Maurits's planner exploited the natural waterways to serve as extension of the axial roads, connecting the civic and commercial functions of the city.⁴² In Stevin's *an de ordeningh der Steden* in the *Materiae politicae* Stevin emphasized that

in newly discovered lands, where communities wish to settle . . . one looks for a fertile piece of land, situated at the mouth of a great navigable river, coming from distant countries, because such places can have two-way traffic, one from the sea the other inland. Further for the crops and crafts of the inhabi-

tants of such vast countries to be distributed around the world, it all has to go through this river mouth. Likewise all overseas goods that such lands need, they must obtain them all through this river mouth, resulting in great trade and relations one with the other, also great incomes from tolls and duties that the goods passing through have to pay.⁴³

The layout of Mauritsstad-Recife shows how seriously Johan Maurits's planner took these principles. The city operated as an emporium through which goods could be imported and exported, a place where the waterways served both defensive and mercantile functions. The map proclaimed this new city an economic center, an emporium like Amsterdam, located abroad.⁴⁴ Mauritsstad's older sister city, Recife, on the tip of the isthmus, grew from a small village to a town of around six thousand people during Johan Maurits's governorship. In addition to the warehouses on the harbor, a town hall for the municipal government and tall houses like those in Amsterdam were built.⁴⁵ As Johan Maurits wrote to the directors of the WIC, "Nothing is more profitable than the sugar trade, except for the large revenues from taxation, duties and tolls."⁴⁶ The printed maps present the ways the WIC *could* control commerce spatially—even while it was unable to realize profitability, as Johan Maurits and later historians iterated.

Blaeu and Barlaeus's Representation of Brazil

To secure his reputation after his recall, Johan Maurits asked Barlaeus to write a glowing history of his governorship. The maps included in the *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia* (1647) emphasize the development and control of the Brazilian landscape during Johan Maurits's tenure (figures 15–17).⁴⁷ In addition to Blaeu's map, the folio included fifty-five high-quality engravings after sketches of landscape views drawn by Frans Post, as well as topographical maps and ground plans after drawings by Marcgraf, and surveyors Goliath and Pistor. Like the news maps by Visscher that included a composite of topography, plan, and profile view, Blaeu interspersed this combination of plates among Barlaeus's text to give a holistic sense of the landscape, one that underscored Dutch control via militaristic, civic, and commercial development, in this case specifically under Johan Maurits.

In the *Brasilia*, maps or ground plans typically are followed by a view of the landscape and the fort for each conquered town or region. A key in Latin and Portuguese marks the areas that Barlaeus considered worthy of rendering and clarifying for the reader. These include cities, churches, forts, *aldeas* (Native villages), houses, stables, wells, the countryside (*campina/campi*),

forests (*mato/sylvae*), and plantations (*engenhos/ingenios*), each marked by a little pictogram: for example, the countryside is marked by one tree, the forest by two trees close together. The landscape views by Post often include the diverse inhabitants of Brazil: the Dutch, Portuguese planters, enslaved Africans, and those indigenous Brazilians whom the Dutch considered friendly (Tupis), who generally lived in the *aldeas* overseen by Dutch officials. In ground plans and maps, the forests are represented by many trees, towns and cities' walls and streets are outlined, and the boundaries between city and forest, cultivated and uncultivated land, are marked. Interestingly, the map indicates the *aldeas*, following the practice in early manuscript maps that showed where friendly or aggressive Natives lived. Here, the *aldeas* are marked by pictograph. Villages that had been Native have become appropriated by Dutch symbols, and in practice, Dutch law. They are places where Dutch political assumptions were imposed onto the Tupis after they had entered into contracts with the WIC. Tupi leaders would be "captains" of *aldeas*, ultimately under allegiance to the WIC agent.⁴⁸ The plans also provide information about the expeditions undertaken by Johan Maurits to establish military control further into the hinterland. Dutch presence and power is reinforced by the marking of forts that the Dutch conquered or built, and by their ever-present ships shown patrolling the bays.

The first maps in the folio outline the coasts of the captaincies of Pernambuco and Paraíba (figures 15–16). The two maps were meant to be contiguous, and are included in the large wall map of Brazil by Georg Marcgraf that Blaeu also issued.⁴⁹ They are linked by the outbuildings of the sugar plantation and, symbolically, by the references to sugar on the captaincies' respective emblems. The huts on the sugar plantation in the map of northern Pernambuco continue into the landscape of Paraíba. Pernambuco had long held the leading role as sugar producer, and Recife was the base of Dutch military and commercial operations. After the initial conquest in 1630, it was clear that the hill town of Olinda, the former Portuguese stronghold, and Recife could not both be maintained. Therefore, Dutch troops burned Olinda, preferring the rivers and harbors around Recife. Unlike Vischer's view, which shows the Portuguese destroying the sugar warehouses and thereby relinquishing control, Blaeu's maps do not show the Dutch destruction of Olinda. Rather, Barlaeus notes how Johan Maurits reclaimed Olinda's masonry to build Mauritsstad.⁵⁰

The act of reclaiming Olinda for Mauritsstad was highly symbolic of territorial control. As we have seen, the plan (figure 17) shows the bounded territory of the city and its citadels, surrounded by rivers that connect it both to the interior, where sugar was processed, and to the sea. In addition to the city

plan, Blaeu included views and plans of Johan Maurits's palaces at Vrijburg and Boa Vista. These views, along with the sugar mill vignette in the map of Pernambuco (figure 15), substantiated Johan Maurits's development of the area. Barlaeus points out in one of the texts that Johan Maurits paid for his own palaces and adds that, as it had been for Roman commanders, it was essential that Johan Maurits build Vrijburg (and that it be illustrated) as a show of power to impress and intimidate the enemy.⁵¹

Such visual intimidation proved necessary. The sugar plantations inland largely continued to be owned by Portuguese planters for various reasons: this was allowed in part to encourage peace with the enemy, but also because setting up milling operations was prohibitively expensive.⁵² However, the Portuguese who were unwilling to submit to Dutch authority post-1630 used the rural areas to stage guerrilla warfare, often burning their own sugar plantations to subvert Dutch rule. The Portuguese and their slaves continued their fight in the rural interior, and the inland area between Recife and Olinda grew increasingly unstable between 1630 and 1637, when Johan Maurits arrived. His capture of Paraíba, just north of Pernambuco, formed part of his successful campaign to suppress guerrilla warfare in the countryside. In the bottom right of the map of Pernambuco the Dutch fleet is shown commanding the harbors and waterways, underscoring the superiority of Dutch military and naval power. In the map of Paraíba Dutch ships extend along the entire coastline (figure 16).⁵³

The vignette of sugar production in the Pernambuco map updated the earlier visual motifs of the sugar mill with details from Post's own sketches from life. Post presented a new type of mill for the area, one that used water power to turn the sugar mill's cylinders to press the cane. The picture emphasizes the mill as machine, relegating the human labor to small, seemingly insignificant components of the whole operation.⁵⁴ (The three slaves by the mill would have pushed the cane between the moving cylinders for pressing at risk to their own limbs.) To the left, slaves lead ox-carts filled with already-cut cane to the mill. The road leading to the mill shows a Portuguese woman being carried to the plantation by her slaves, led by what must be the plantation's owner. Behind the mill their two-story plantation house can be seen. There, more slaves raise their hands to greet the homecoming of the owners. This image provides a view of the sugar operations that sanitized and mitigated the awful reality of the forced labor necessary to run the mills; viewers are distanced physically and emotionally from the industry.⁵⁵ Instead the map emphasizes the military and mechanical engineering of modern civilization, where natural resources are extracted and exploited by human invention and industriousness.

The sugar mills parallel the silent and often unmanned windmills depicted in Dutch landscapes. Both Brazilian and Dutch mills are positioned as inventions of human ingenuity and industry, machines that improve natural resources for consumption, ostensibly benefiting the common good. That some human labor was, in fact, necessary and dangerous, is obscured by the narrative of commercial enterprise, profit, and progress. In the Netherlands, the Dutch had used windmills to power their domestic economy; in Brazil, sugar mills processed cane into a lucrative commodity abroad.

Blaeu's map of Paraíba (after Marcgraf) (figure 16) uses pictorial means to indicate Dutch control of the interior, despite the uncertainty of Portuguese planters' loyalty. To suggest Dutch dominance in Paraíba, Blaeu chose the military expedition of Elias Herckmans to balance the picture of sugar production on the map of Pernambuco. Herckmans leads his troops under the Dutch flag, followed by indigenous Brazilians carrying provisions. According to Barlaeus, Herckmans led forty WIC soldiers and thirty-six Brazilians west along the Mongaguaba River into territory then unknown to the Dutch. It was as much a mission to intimidate and claim possession as it was "to explore this area and in particular its products."⁵⁶ Where no towns or *ingenios* existed, land was free to be cultivated by immigrants. In Barlaeus's words:

The Directors of the Company deliberated frequently about means for increasing the grandeur of the state, how they could attract immigrants, to be brought here and settled, spread out across the empty regions and uncultivated lands.⁵⁷

Moreover, Barlaeus noted that on the expedition "the insignia of the Company were once more put up for the instruction and wonder of later generations," and he concluded his description of the exploratory quest by stating, as quoted above:

Whoever reads this will agree that the Company, Count Johan Maurits, and the Supreme Council have left nothing undone that can promote the public good. They have sought to acquire profit by means of warfare, trade, and expansion of territory. Forests, mountains, rivers, or seas could not stop their quest for gain. Respect for money is so strong that it dares man to do the extraordinary and enables him to do the incredible, whether this means looking for hidden wealth or grasping for palpable riches.⁵⁸

Here Barlaeus asserted a correlation between aggressive land acquisition and cultivation, commercial profit, and benefits provided to the community of



19. "Res Brasiliae" (title page) from Caspar Barlaeus, *Rerum per octennium in Brasilia* (Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1647). James Ford Bell Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota. (Author photo.)

Dutch citizens and subjects as a whole. For him, a *civitas*, a community developed by and for the good for all, necessarily included "warfare, trade, and expansion of territory." The ultimate good that profit provided made mercantilism and conquest beneficial and virtuous.

The emblems that Blaeu displayed on each map serve as a further picto-

rial means for asserting the “insignia” of Dutch control over sugar. In the map of northern Pernambuco, a female personification of Pernambuco holds sugar cane, while the emblem for Paraíba consists of three bricks of sugar in a cone shape (the familiar cones are also in van der Straet’s earlier engraving). Each emblem on the maps represents the commodities of that captaincy, and each scroll is capped by Johan Maurits’s crown and wings that figuratively extend as “wide as the world.” By picturing the commodities of the region allegorically, Blaeu used the conventional pictorial mechanism of coats of arms to correspond with commodity possession.⁵⁹ The allegorical motifs from the Pernambuco and Paraíba maps, along with similar banners and decorative garlands, can also be found under Johan Maurits’s coats of arms and crowns on the title page to the *Brasilia* (figure 19).

The pictorial program of the *Brasilia* underscored the control and development of Brazil under Johan Maurits and, by extension, the WIC. In Brazil, Johan Maurits built new forts and towns, and rebuilt others. Just as important, he set up improved production and infrastructure to control the export of Brazilian natural resources, most especially sugar.

Possession According to Grotius

Maps that pictorially distinguished cultivated areas from uncultivated areas legitimated Dutch claims that they had the right of possession contra to other nations. In his articulation of property rights, Grotius had linked exclusive ownership to natural law. Building on Roman principles, Grotius based his ideas about property on what he considered man’s natural desire to protect himself from injury and provide for his own well-being—a right of self-preservation that he extended to political and corporate bodies.⁶⁰ As mentioned already in chapter 3, Grotius’s ideas about property and possession abroad grew specifically from the argument he was asked to construct by the VOC to justify their capture of the *Santa Caterina*.⁶¹ In *Mare liberum* (1609), Grotius argued that the VOC, partially invested with sovereign powers by the States General, had the right to claim the captured *Santa Caterina* and its cargo as spoils of war. He argued that the Portuguese had no sovereignty (*dominium*) over naturally “free” and un-possessable waters. To that end, the Dutch could justly claim the treasure—treasure that did not belong to the Portuguese, but to the king of Johore—because of its presence in the open sea (although, of course, the VOC had no intention of returning it to the king of Johore).⁶² For Grotius, the seas could not be possessed because they could not be occupied and controlled, and traditionally, water and waterways were common in the Netherlands. Grotius refuted the notion

that possession could be obtained simply by seeing something. For Grotius, the right to claim “is not merely to seize with the eye (*oculus usurpare*), but to apprehend.”⁶³ Oceans, by their very nature, are mutable, and would be impossible for anyone to “apprehend.” Thus, the claim of *dominium*—the right of exclusivity—by the Portuguese over the Indian Ocean was invalid.

What applied to the oceans also applied to land—simply seeing land did not provide entitlement to it. Although “looking” from the prow of a ship did not equate to possession, picturing the land in maps that showed organization and development fixed it and showed that it was controlled, and therefore possessed. In some instances, the Dutch referred to maps as evidence of their possession of territories in the Americas.⁶⁴ Moreover, in Roman law the testimony of the eyewitness was the most powerful evidence that could be provided (seconded by depositions from the eyewitness sources).⁶⁵ It is no surprise, then, that Dutch maps and illustrated travel accounts from the period emphasize the eyewitness (recall that Visscher advertised this below the title on his news map of Pernambuco), along with such pictorial references to control as ships, government buildings, and the organization of the city in plans and bird’s-eye views.

Grotius’s *Mare liberum* (1609) set the foundation for the more substantial *De jure belli ac pacis* (*On the Rights of War and Peace*, 1625). In this work, Grotius provided specific discussion of instances applicable to municipal public and private law, as well as principles that could be applied to the new territories “discovered” by Europeans, or that could be legally possessed by right of victors in war. Certainly, the Dutch considered their conquest of Pernambuco part of a just war, and they projected their conquests abroad as they did their victories at home: pictorially. Grotius maintained that possession by dispossessing the land from enemies in war was a legitimate means by which to claim ownership. In addition to land claimed by conquest, Grotius also argued that possession could be taken of unoccupied lands belonging to no one (*res nullius*). Finally, he rationalized that there is a “natural” inequality on the abilities of people to enjoy things: “Some things as cannot be enjoyed equally by all” and so must be divided.⁶⁶

In Roman law, possessed territory was formally enclosed, defendable, and occupied. If an area had never been occupied or had been abandoned, it was *res nullius*. When the Portuguese fled Recife, the land, its buildings and warehouses were abandoned, allowing agents of the WIC to lay claim to them. That the WIC could properly defend and further develop the area exemplified an important corollary to *res nullius*—the idea of improvement. Land must be built upon or engineered by tools and technology in order to be rightfully owned.⁶⁷

Extended to Dutch colonial purposes, Grotius's theories suggested that only settled and cultivated land counted as possessed. Grotius argued:

If there be any waste or barren Land within our Dominions, that also is to be given to Strangers, at their Request, or may be lawfully possessed by them, because whatever remains uncultivated, is not to be esteemed a Property, only so far as concerns Jurisdiction, which always continues the Right of the sentient People. . . . So we read in *Dion Prusaeensis* . . . that *they commit no Crime who cultivate and manure the untitled Part of a Country*.⁶⁸

For Grotius, if land was occupied, it was a person's duty to produce resources to fulfill his own needs, and correspondingly, to contribute to the *civitas* (community).⁶⁹

Natural Rights, Sugar, and Human Exploitation

The idealism of Grotius's political theory based on the natural rights of individuals assumed a hierarchical social system. This hierarchy was legitimated and exploited by those at the top whose aim was to maintain power and to profit. Indeed, Grotius's early partnership and investiture in the VOC "brings out the dark side of modern liberalism."⁷⁰ Here I wish to briefly articulate how Grotius's conception of natural social hierarchies justified the dispossession of land from indigenous people and exploitative labor abroad, using a model based on exclusive property ownership at home.

Grotius's notion of divisible sovereignty, his theory of subjective rights, and his account of the origins of private property were perfectly suited to justify the WIC's role in Brazil, in addition to the VOC's role in Asia. According to Grotius, the WIC, its agents and colonists acquired property rights through cultivation of *res nullius*, as the booty from just war, and by contractual agreement between free, sovereign bodies. Although indigenous peoples were in theory free and *sui juris*, Grotius argued that the Natives could sign away all or part of their subjective rights by means of contracts, or could be conquered in just war if they had been fighting on the side of the Portuguese. In Brazil, the potential for their prior affiliation with Iberian traders made it possible for the Dutch to argue that the land they had occupied was a prize of war, and the idea that *pacta sunt servanda* (treaties must be honored) precluded any possibility to change or nullify the terms of a contract unilaterally. Moreover, believing in natural rights allowed Europeans to legitimate expansion as a positive extension of the *civitas* and a commonality of well-governed citizens.⁷¹ Subjects no longer had rights beyond those

of contributing to and being properly cared for by the *civitas*, of which they may not have wished to become a part. Worse, some of these subjects were seen as “naturally” subordinate and in need of governance by “naturally” superior men.

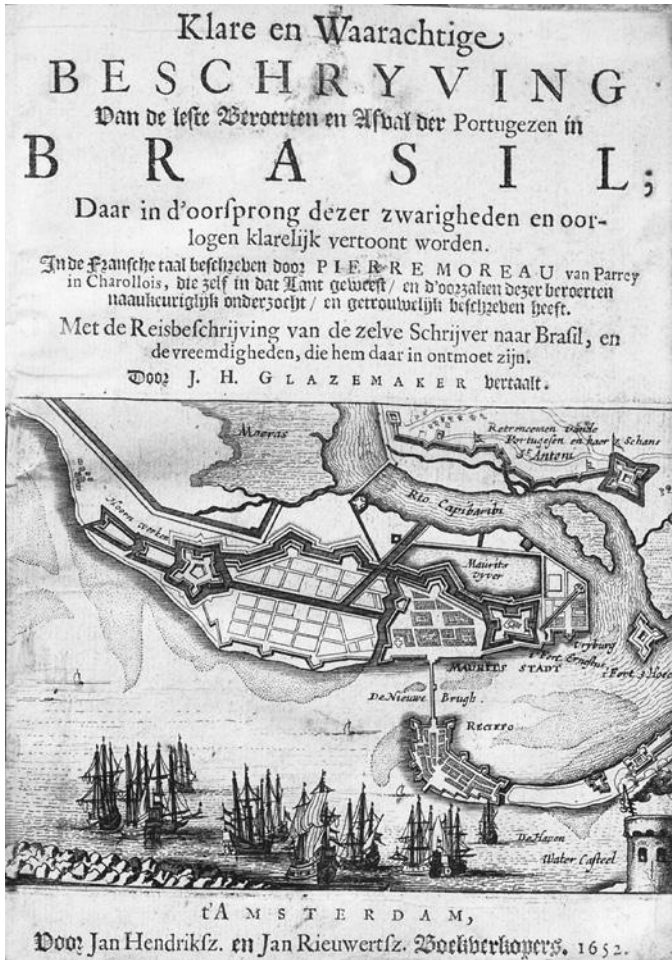
A huge segment of the population in Brazil had no liberty at all. Between 1641 and 1643, the Dutch exported more sugar than ever before. Correspondingly, these years also witness an enormous spike in the importation of enslaved Africans to Pernambuco.⁷² Grotius followed Aristotle in using natural law to defend slavery. He likened the slave-master relationship to that of child-parent or subject-sovereign. His argument was based on the idea that if a person could not provide for himself (or his children) it was *in his interest* to be a slave, and therefore, to be provided for and his person preserved.⁷³ Indeed, Grotius saw this relationship as analogous to the relationship between citizens and the polity: slaves, like citizens, worked for the greater good, according to their capacity. Whoever defined that “good” and capacity were the powers in charge.

After the conquest of Paraíba and Pernambuco, the Dutch sought to maximize production to meet the demand for sugar in Europe. The WIC loaned money to Portuguese and Dutch planters to rebuild their mills, and mechanized production increased the demand for slave labor, since according to Barlaeus, “Negroes, who must be bought, are needed to do the work in the sugar mills and the fields. No matter how physically strong our people are, once transferred here they cannot tolerate this labor.”⁷⁴ Production was made as efficient as possible, with mills often running around the clock. The type of mill typically used on sugar plantations had three cylinders. The central cylinder, driven by water or animal, rotated in the opposite direction from the outside cylinders. The cylinders thereby pressed the sugar cane to extract the juice, which was then boiled into syrup in extremely hot kettles in the *ketelhuis*. Laborers were needed to cut the cane and feed the pieces between the rollers. Both tasks were labor-intensive, and the latter was extremely dangerous, with a risk of losing limbs and life. The Dutch preferred the hydro-powered mill to the oxen-driven mill because cane could be pressed in greater quantity and with greater speed by the water-powered mill.⁷⁵ In Blaeu’s later map of Pernambuco, the ox-powered mill on Visscher’s map was replaced by the more productive water-powered mill. Here then, the Dutch also demonstrated “improvement” of industry in prints. Later accounts of Brazil by Dutch travelers perpetuated this “objective” description of the cultivation and processing of sugar, focusing on efficient production, with only the mention of slaves as a necessary part of the process.⁷⁶

Trying Times: 1648

Although printed maps presented a view of a secure and economically stable Brazil, the historical actuality was, of course, quite different. The WIC had to use much of its capital to maintain control of Pernambuco. Since the 1630 conquest, a complicated and expensive situation prevailed for the Dutch company where Portuguese sugar planters were concerned. In order to keep the system running, and hopefully, to increase productivity, and thereby increase duties from exports on sugar, WIC factors often sold slaves and equipment to Portuguese planters on credit.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the WIC was embroiled in guerrilla warfare in the interior. In addition, although Johan Maurits was marginally successful in gaining territory in northeast Brazil and West Africa, the support he required made his governorship very expensive for the WIC. Despite—or rather, because of—their military gains and emphasis on keeping production active with credit, the WIC grew largely insolvent. After Johan Maurits's recall in 1644, many of the planters' debts came due. The planters' desire to rid themselves of what were, by many calculations, impossible loans afforded the Portuguese in Bahía the opportunity to foment revolt. Beginning in the early summer of 1645, Portuguese planters, supported by troops from Bahía, staged a series of uprisings. By 1648, the remaining Dutch officials and troops in Pernambuco were consolidated in Recife. Ultimately, the Dutch surrendered their last stronghold at Recife in January 1654.

Visscher published yet another map of Brazil in 1648 (figure 18). The WIC's charter had been renewed in 1647, along with a much-needed injection of 1.5 million guilders from the Dutch East India Company to support efforts in Brazil.⁷⁸ Peace with Spain was on the horizon. Responding to these events, and perhaps authorized by the WIC to project a strong image of their control of Recife after Johan Maurits' leadership, Visscher combined the views of Vrijburg, Mauritsstad-Recife, and the ground plan that Johan Maurits's artists and surveyors had drawn. It also, according to the advertisement, showed the retrenchment of the "deceitful Portuguese." This map, too, is a composite that presented Brazil as a secure, stable, and controlled landscape, and it was printed (at economical folio size) for sale exactly at a time when the WIC most needed to shore up investor confidence and support. As the eminent scholar of Dutch Brazil Charles Boxer has suggested, the capitulation to the Portuguese in 1654 "came as a surprise to contemporaries, despite the pessimistic series of reports from the High Council at Recife . . . the strength of the fortification of Recife and Mauritsstad was a good deal overestimated in Europe, possibly because of books like Pierre



20. Title page from Pierre Moreau, *Klare en waarachtige beschryving van de leste beroerten en afval der Portugezen in Brasil* (Amsterdam: Jan Hendriksz and Jan Rieuwertsz, 1652). James Ford Bell Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Moreau's *Historie*, which described Recife as one of the strongest places in the world.⁷⁹ It was not just such texts that claimed a strong Dutch hold on Brazil: maps were literally foundational to that view. In fact, Moreau's *l'Histoire de la Derniere Guerre faite au Bresil, entre les Portugais et les Hollandois* (History of the Latest War in Brazil between the Portuguese and Dutch) from 1651 was printed in Dutch in 1652, and the frontispiece shows a detail of the very same map of Mauritsstad-Recife published by Blaeu and Visscher in 1647–48, complete with a fleet of ships in the foreground (figure 20).

Conclusion

As images that helped form Dutch perception about the Atlantic world, printed maps from the second quarter of the seventeenth century were constructed using conventions informed by Dutch thinking about sovereignty, possession, and profit. The legal and political theories espoused by Dutch theorists in the early seventeenth century provided the WIC with a philosophical and pragmatic paradigm through which to claim and exploit territory both locally and abroad. Land and its resources were possessed in printed images that defined and emphasized how the Dutch developed, controlled, and made profitable land and its natural resources for the commonality. As we have seen, this framework for possession had its foundations in natural law, especially as articulated by Hugo Grotius. His ideas about property and natural rights prescribed order and hierarchy in the physical as well as political environment. Possessed land was land that was cultivated and controlled. Visscher's news maps and the maps published by Blaeu in Caspar Barlaeus's *Brasilia* served an important role as printed propaganda for the WIC and governing elite, propaganda that helped shape public opinion about Brazil and its potential for military and commercial success. These maps proved possession and stability by all sorts of pictorial means, including the very nature of the space represented—a space that was claimed, built, developed, organized, and controlled.

Visscher and Blaeu's respective prints suggested to investors and Dutch citizens the bounty in Brazil and the WIC's control of it. Both publishers presented Brazil using conventions in rhetoric and iconography that helped assert Dutch possession and confirm Dutch control over natural resources. These images echoed the legal ideas about natural rights to self-preservation and possession that were articulated in contemporary texts, and showed a stable territory, and by extension, company and nation, during periods fraught with division and uncertainty.

Marketing New Amsterdam

Formerly New Netherland was never spoken of, and now heaven and earth seem to be stirred up by it and everyone tries to be the first in selecting the best pieces [of land] there.¹

—WIC Amsterdam Directors Jacob Pergens and Jehan Raye, 1650

On the Patrons and Description of New Netherland

Still *Amstel's* faithful Burger-Lords live;

And extend their care *East and West* for
the good of the commonality;

And govern the Land and people with
wisdom

That almost like beasts in the wilderness
go

With gray and wise care they tend
Holland's Garden

And in *New Netherland* would be
Christians too

Why do men mourn *Brazil*, full of evil
Portuguese,

While our *vander Donk* shows this *New*
Land

Here you can read about golden *wheat*
and round *grapes*

Here men find *fruit* and *cattle* so good
with little care.

Although men may describe their loss in
other Lands

(Op de Voorstanders en de Beschrijvinge van Nieuw-Nederlandt)

Noch leeft de trouwe zorgh van *Amstels*
Burger-Heeren;

En strekt zich *Oost en West*, ten beste van 't
gemeen:

En kunnen kloekkelijk een Landt en volk
regeeren,

Dat schier gelijk het *Veeliep* wild en woest
daar heen.

Die grijse en wijze zorg doet *Hollands Thuy*n
bewaren;

En 't *Nieuwe Nederland* ook Christelijk wel
varen

Wat treurt men om *Brazil*, vol snoode
Portugeezen,

Terwijl ons *vander Donk* vertoont dit *Nieuwe*
Landt

Hier kan met *Taruvv* als Goud en bolle
Druyven leezen

Hier vind men *vrugt* en *vee* zo schoon men
elders vant.

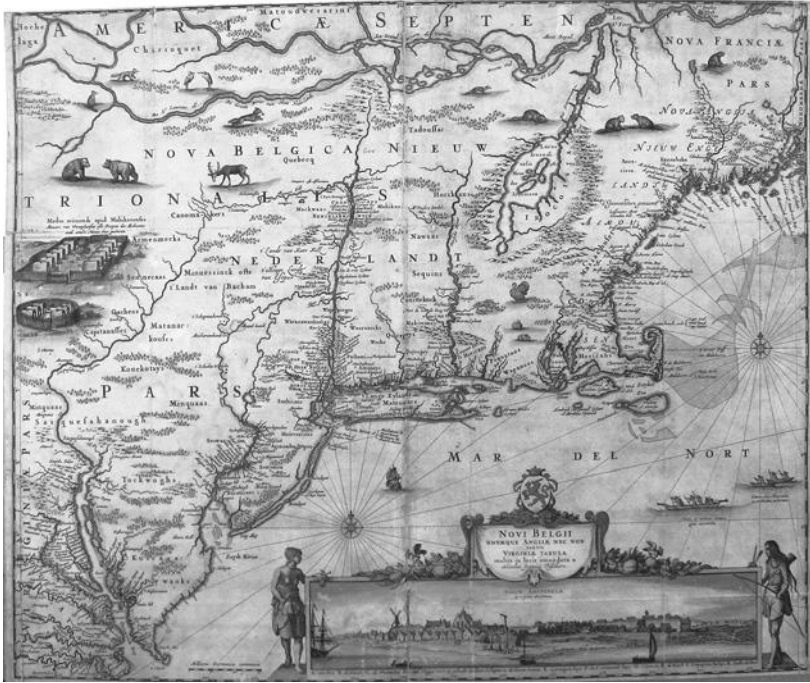
Nochtans men magh 't verlies van ander
Land beschreye

A better profit is to be gained.	Maar in een beeter winst moet men zich meer verblijven.
So <i>Reader</i> , do you want to go? Freely and joyfully away	Wel <i>Lezer</i> hebt ghy lust? Trekt vry vol vreugt daar henen.
It is called <i>Netherland</i> , although it exceeds it by far	't Heet wel na <i>Nederland</i> , maar overtrekt het ver'
Does such a journey displease you?	Mishaagt u zulk een reys? Wilt dan uwe oogen leenen
Then lend your eyes to <i>vander Donk's</i> Book; a guiding star	Aan 't Boek <i>vander Donk</i> ; die als een heldre sterr
To show you the Land and people: and you shall further read	U 't Land en volk vertoont: en zal u voorder leeren,
That <i>Netherland</i> governs with care <i>New</i> <i>Netherland</i> .	Dat <i>Neerland</i> door haar zorg <i>Nieu Neerland</i> kan regeere.
—Evert Nieuwenhof ¹	

This poem precedes the famous *Description of New Netherland* by Adriaen van der Donck. Published by Evert Nieuwenhof in the second edition of 1656, the poem at once tries to attract the reader to the wonders of New Netherland, and at the same time praise the colony's governance by the WIC directors in the Amsterdam chamber. Likewise, promotion was the purpose of the map of New Netherland with profile view of New Amsterdam, included by Nieuwenhof in the 1656 edition (figure 21). The profile view of the colonial city was first created in a folio map by Claes Jansz Visscher circa 1650–51, just before his death (figure 22). Both printed maps reflect how the WIC wanted New Netherland to be seen in the defining years of the city's growth. In these maps the profile significantly contributed to marketing New Netherland as under the authority and care of the WIC, and more specifically, its Amsterdam merchant directors. This was done with the view of New Amsterdam. Since 1623, the Amsterdam chamber had dealt with New Netherland affairs, and New Amsterdam was the home base of the WIC's trading, colonial, and military operations in New Netherland. The view of New Amsterdam recalled Amsterdam and its "burgherlijk" society.¹ Moreover, the map with view confirmed boundaries of Dutch-claimed territory distinct from surrounding European colonies and Native settlements. Indeed, the map came out in the midst of looming war between the Dutch and English and at the climax of a decade of strife in the WIC chamber at Amsterdam caused by a series of contentious events concerning the colony's governance and policies toward inhabitants—governors, colonists, pa-



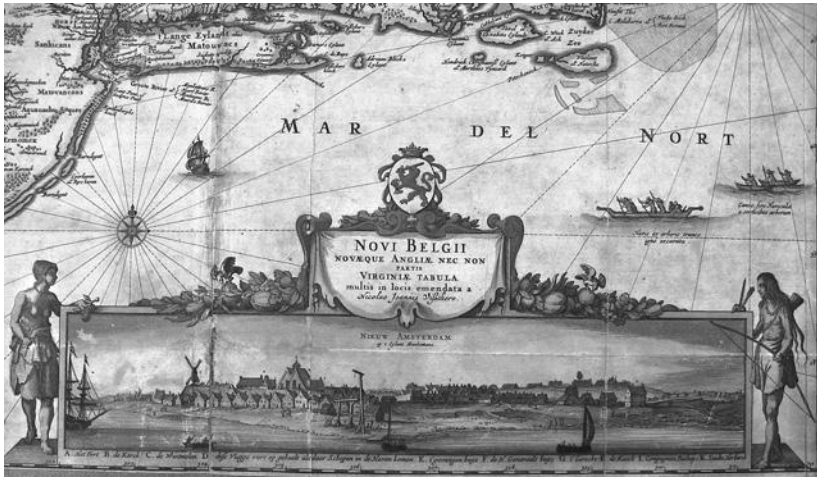
21. Evert Nieuwenhoff, New Netherland and New Amsterdam, in *Beschrijvinghe van Nieuw-Nederlandt*, 1656. New York State Library, Albany, New York. (Author photo.)



22. Claes Jansz Visscher, "Novi Belgii," ca. 1650–51, 48 x 57 cm. New York State Library, Albany, New York. (Author photo.)

troons, and Natives. Sometimes violent and always bureaucratically messy, the events in the decades leading up to the publication of the map with view demonstrate the varied attempts by diverse Dutch interests to negotiate policies on land, ownership, and its governance.

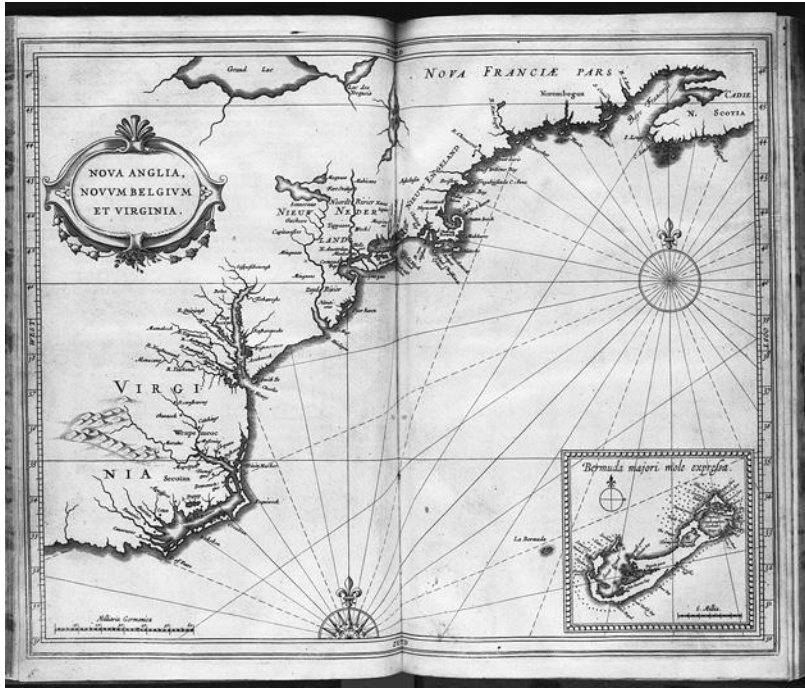
In Visscher's map, New Amsterdam is visually comparable to Amsterdam. The view shows the city as a civilized settlement and significant trade center. In the profile, a Dutch ship is on the far left, while three smaller boats float close to the picture plane (figure 23). The land projects forward at the center of the composition. In this central position a gallows guards the small pier at the edge of the water. A pair of figures point to the gallows, and a group walks on the beach. At the far left edge of the settlement is a windmill with four sails. Next to it is the earthen fort, topped by a flagstaff, proudly marking "where the ships come to harbor." Small figures busy themselves on the fort walls. Built in 1642, the double-gabled church partially obscures the governor's house behind it (F). The jail (*'t gevangen huys*, E), sits between the church and the fort. On the right side of the composition, the Company



23. Detail, "Novi Belgii."

warehouse is just beyond the gallows, marked by the letter "I," and on the edge of town is the city's inn, which became the town hall in 1653. Fields bathed in dappled light extend to the horizon and edge of the composition. Timber dwellings line the beach, creating a neat row of red-roofed homes between the church and gallows. Resting on the framed view, beside the cartouche, is harvestable produce of North America: gourds and squashes, pears, peaches, and grapes. A Native American male and female flank the cartouche.² All in all, the scene depicts a small but civilized settlement open to cultivation and trade. The land on the right stretches beyond the composition, begging to be tilled; the neat row of homes could easily extend along an implied line to the right; and the large ship on the left denotes maritime trade at the fort.

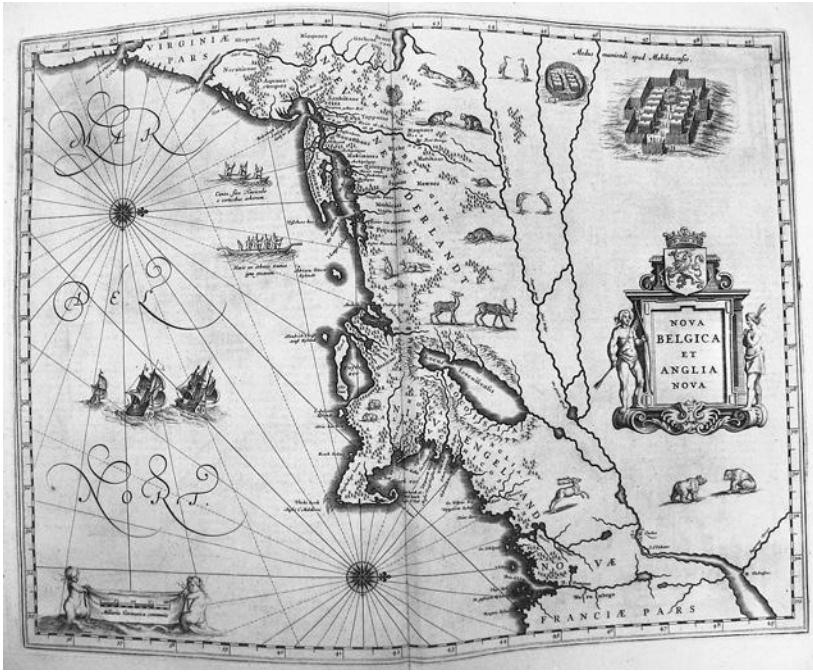
The map should be viewed within the scope of the WIC's negotiations with colonists and the States General in the years leading up to New Amsterdam's city charter in 1653, and importantly, publishers' desire to profit from these events.³ The map and view shows the shared goals of the Amsterdam chamber of the WIC and the States General for colonization, while also asserting Dutch control of the territory they had claimed since 1614. By comparing views of New Amsterdam to Amsterdam, Visscher presented a message that could appeal to investors, colonists, and patriots alike. Here I explain its publication and surrounding events as consistent with Visscher's earlier propagandistic output. Ultimately, the reprinting of Visscher's map by Nieuwenhof in Adriaen van der Donck's *Description of New Netherland*



24. Hessel Gerritszoon, "Nova Anglia, Novum Belgium, et Virginia," in Johannes de Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt, ofte beschrijvinghe van West-Indien* (Leiden: Elsevier, 1630), 31 cm. New York State Library, Albany, New York.

with the poem above provided an "official" printed conclusion to over forty years of confusion about the colony and its governance. Although we have the hindsight of history, in 1656 no one would have thought the colony had less than a decade left under WIC control.

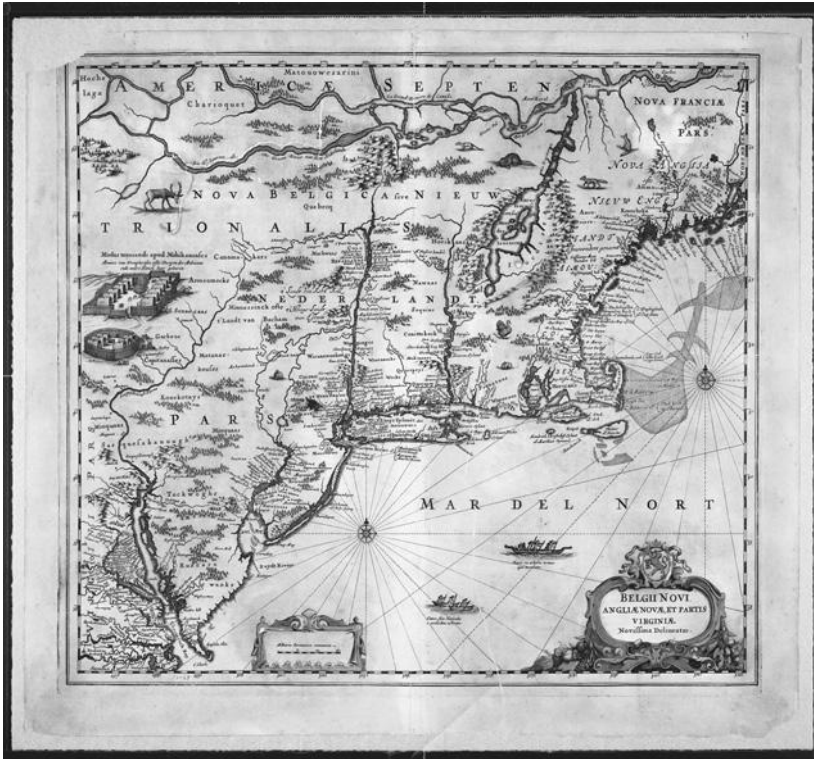
In fact, the few printed maps of New Netherland issued prior to Vischer's map with view also corresponded with WIC policies to increase colonization in the 1630s. The earlier printed maps of New Netherland are Willem Blaeu's map of *Novi Belgii* from his *Atlas Novus* of 1635 (in Dutch as the *Tonneel des Aerdrycks ofte Nieuwe Atlas*), and the map from which it was modeled, the *paskaert* (navigational chart) in the second edition of WIC director Johannes de Laet's *New World or Description of the West Indies* (*Nieuwe Wereldt, ofte beschrijvinghe van West-Indien*, 1630) (figures 24–25). With the addition of the view, Visscher updated the chart of New Netherland by Jan Janssonius (figure 26), itself a rotated copy of Blaeu's 1635 map, sometime before his death in 1652. His Latinized name, *Nicolao Joannis*, appears in the cartouche, although it may have been his assistant, Pieter Schut, who



25. Willem Blaeu, "Nova Belgica et Anglia Nova," in *Tonneel der Aerdrycks* (Amsterdam: Blaeu, 1635). New York State Library, Albany, New York. (Author photo.)

did the etching.⁴ Many have already noted the function of Visscher's map as a marketing tool for attracting colonists. Here, I claim it propagated pro-Amsterdam merchant views, and by extension, was pro-WIC. In this way, it falls in line with the prior maps. At mid-century, the Company needed funds, and crops, pelts, and freight charges from product export could be obtained if more colonists worked the land and traded.⁵

Around 1650, the WIC was almost insolvent because of the expenditure of vast resources that were necessary to maintain control of their territories. In Brazil, the WIC only securely held Recife since revolt had broken out in 1645, and the Company was hemorrhaging money to try to hold on to that colony. The Company's charter had only just been renewed in 1647. That same year, the directors at Amsterdam had removed the controversial and unpopular governor of New Netherland, Willem Kieft (governor 1638–47), and replaced him with Pieter Stuyvesant (governor 1647–64). Although tensions between colonists and Company governance had persuaded Stuyvesant to choose an advisory board of nine men from eighteen elected by colonists (the Nine, or Nine Men), in late summer 1649, these



26. Jan Janssonius, "Belgii Novi, Angliae Novae, et partis Virginiae," ca. 1650, 44 x 52 cm.
New York State Library, Albany, New York.

men sent a remonstrance, written by the young lawyer and colonist van der Donck, to the States General against Stuyvesant's objections. They asked their High Mightinesses to take control of the colony. The colonists' appeals in 1649 led to the States General requiring the WIC to recall Stuyvesant in April of 1650, although because of continued divisiveness following the Treaty of Munster in 1648 and Willem II and his cousin's attempt to besiege Amsterdam in July, 1650, that legislation was delayed.⁶ In fact, the internal politics of the Netherlands contributed greatly to the policies suggested for New Netherland, as Jaap Jacobs has shown.⁷ Recently, Jacobs has pulled out more intriguing threads surrounding this spate of events and the nature of the conflict between the House of Orange and nobility in the United Provinces and Amsterdam merchants.⁸ These issues had a direct relation to events in New Netherland, as we will see. Letters from the WIC directors at Amsterdam to Stuyvesant indicate their concerns regarding these matters

and the steps they took toward mitigating their reputation, asserting their control, and negotiating with their High Mightinesses at the States General, the regents of the city of Amsterdam, and with the English.

Therefore, it seems probable that the map with view was published as a response to these events, which occurred between October 1649 and November 1650.⁹ Such a map would have had a positive function not only as the Amsterdam chamber's response to domestic politicking, but also as an assertion of the WIC's territorial claims against England in the years just before the first Anglo-Dutch war. Since Willem II had been married to the young English princess Mary Stuart, and Charles II was being housed in the Netherlands after being forced into exile, such a map would have easily resonated not only with aspects of colonial identity, but *Dutch* identity against a possible English threat at home in the form of the monarchy, and threat from territorial and trade disputes, including the Navigation Acts that passed parliament in October 1651.

When the colony surrendered to the English in 1664, New Amsterdam was at its peak. Its population was growing and its citizens had gained wealth as well as privileges and rights in civic governance and trade. Because of its coastal location at the juncture of multiple rivers, the city continued to prosper, and today New York has replaced Amsterdam as the capital of capitalism. Much had changed in New Amsterdam, and New Netherland generally, between the first settlers' arrival in 1624 and capitulation in 1664. In these forty years, an initial focus on trade had been punctuated by attempts at profitable colonization, and by 1653, a new merchant elite in the city had gained similar rights and responsibilities as they might in any other Dutch city.

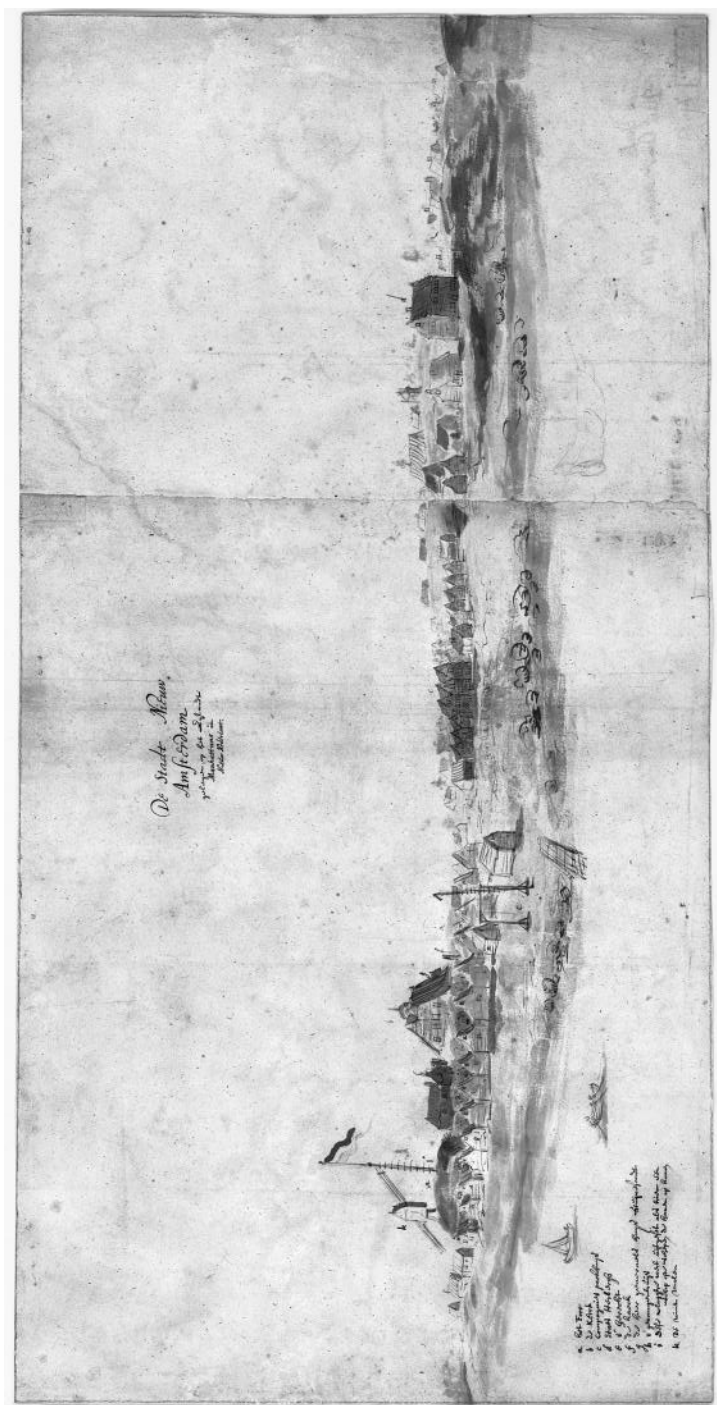
Picturing New Amsterdam

The map relates to the other maps Visscher published throughout his career in its presentation of a profile view of the city as an inset to a topographical territorial map, thereby underscoring Dutch control and governance pictorially. It is similar to Visscher's 1648 folio map of Recife, which depicts topographical and profile views of the city and governor general Johan Maurits's palace Vrijburg¹⁰ (chapter 4, figure 18). The map of New Netherland may be more similar to the 1648 map of Recife than has previously been observed. Not only are they pictorially similar, but they address similar concerns about colonization and control by the WIC in the years just before 1650. Seeking to replace bad news from Brazil and New Netherland, the States General and WIC officials must have seen the potential in Visscher and his printed maps.

The addition of the view is how Visscher presented New Amsterdam as analogous to Amsterdam, and by extension, presented the colonial city as a civilized, profitable, and well-governed municipality. Although idealized, the view was not totally imagined. As we saw in chapter 4, the Recife map relied on the drawn maps of Johan Maurits's surveyors Cornelis Golijath and Frederick Pistor. The New Netherland map similarly combines an adaptation of a sketch with previously printed source material. A watercolor sketch extant in Vienna probably somehow found its way to Visscher, giving him the details necessary to present a compellingly realistic city profile like other Dutch cities (figure 27).

Printed maps of Amsterdam and Visscher's view of New Amsterdam share three general pictorial emphases: first, they emphasize trade. Engravers purposefully included a multitude of ships in the port. In the map of Amsterdam by Hondius in Pontanus (chapter 3, figure 7), the St. Antoniespoort weigh house is clearly visible in both the profile and plan. On the left side of the map, it physically and visually bridges the open farmland with the tightly pressed shops of the city. Of course, Visscher made the East and West India houses and Bourse more obvious by framing them in corner vignettes. In the view of New Amsterdam, the Company warehouse ("I") is central. Second, the development of land is clearly represented. These plans of Amsterdam show the extensive pastures and fields surrounding the city center. In the etching, an expanse of fields extends to the right edge of the profile and in the hills behind the settlement. Windmills punctuate old and new world landscapes, symbolizing the productive capabilities of the Republic by transforming natural resources into commodities. In the Dutch Republic windmills processed a variety of goods, from leather and hemp to paper and oil, and new scoop mills pumped water to make arable land from the sea. In both Amsterdam and New Amsterdam, the windmill ground grain harvested from the cultivated land. Third, the profiles of the major social institutions of government and religion—the town hall in Amsterdam, old and new church, and fort, Governor's house, and church in New Amsterdam—underscored the civilized organization of the community, controlled and under high jurisdiction—which was reserved to the WIC on Manhattan.

Clearly, the view is significant, not least because it was an innovative addition to previous maps of New Netherland. By presenting it in a way pictorially similar to Dutch city views, Visscher was able to elicit meaningful analogies between colonial cities and Dutch cities. However, the view of New Amsterdam has been the focus of much confusion in the historical literature. Generally it has been assumed the sketched view was somehow related to van der Donck and the colonists' remonstrance. Indeed, much



27. "De Stadt Nieuw Amsterdam gelegen op het Eylandt Manhattans in Nieuw Nederlandt," watercolor, ca. 1649–50. Österreich National Bibliothek, Albertina, Vienna. Inv. #KAR0515754.

ink has been spilled regarding this affair and the publication of the remonstrance (*Vertoogh van Nieuwe Nederlandt*) in 1650 by Michael Stael from The Hague. In his popular history of Manhattan, Russell Shorto suggested that the map was brought to the Republic by van der Donck and his colleagues as evidence in their plight to the States General, and then, through connections between Stael and his neighbor Hendrick Hondius in The Hague, Jan Janssonius in Amsterdam obtained the map, and Blaeu somehow made the first printed view.¹¹ Shorto here made a common mistake in confusing Hondiuses: Henricus Hondius II (1597–1651), of Amsterdam, son of Jodocus Hondius, was the brother-in-law of Jan Janssonius—Janssonius’s relation, therefore, was *not* Hendrick Hondius from The Hague (1573–1650).¹² Hendrick Hondius in The Hague and the Amsterdam Hondiuses have never been proven to be related. In fact, Claes Jansz Visscher and Hendrick Hondius from The Hague are known to have been on good terms. Indeed, they shared political-religious affinities and had friendly business exchanges at least as early as 1617: Visscher dedicated a print series of *The Seasons* designed by Jan van de Velde to “his most honorable friend Hendrick Hondius.” Hondius also published a map of The Hague and another series of *The Seasons*, both from Visscher’s stock.¹³ Visscher subsequently purchased many of Hondius’s plates after Hondius’s death in 1650.¹⁴ Since Visscher already had been granted privileges by the WIC to publish news maps of the conquests of Dutch Brazil, it may have been the case that the map and the view of New Amsterdam made its way to Visscher via someone sympathetic to the WIC—*not* someone who was appealing to the States General on behalf of the colonists.¹⁵

Just as Hondius probably was not the link some have assumed in attempting to connect the map to the remonstrance, it is also unlikely that colonist Agustijn Hermann sketched the watercolor view, a common misconception that has only recently been questioned.¹⁶ The confusion about his involvement with the Vienna sketch (and by extension, Visscher’s printed view), comes from a later letter to the WIC directors from Stuyvesant written in 1660.¹⁷ It seems far more likely that instead of a colonist’s appeal, the view was given to Visscher by someone connected with the WIC in Amsterdam, since Visscher continued to be the go-to publisher for news maps concerning the WIC’s control of territory after Hessel Gerritszoon’s death in 1632.¹⁸ Indeed, the directors at Amsterdam indicated their distrust of Hermann in a letter from February of 1650, not only because of his involvement with the remonstrance, but also because of reported duplicity in his trade dealings.

The comparison of New Amsterdam to Amsterdam visually was an important part of marketing by Visscher and the WIC. Around 1650, direc-

tors at Amsterdam must have wanted to propagate an image in print of the colony as like Amsterdam—which it increasingly was. In New Amsterdam, the windmill, fort, governor's house, church, and gallows in the view of would have been comforting sights to readers familiar with Amsterdam and images of it. At the same time, the topographical aspect of the map derived from earlier printed maps continued to assert Dutch possession and claim to territory among other European colonies and Native populations.

WIC Colonial Policies 1629–49: Possession, Boundaries, Patroons, and Natives

Since 1614, Dutch traders had established Fort Nassau on Castle Island in the Hudson near present-day Albany. Fort Orange replaced the abandoned Fort Nassau in 1624 and other forts were built on the Delaware and Connecticut rivers.¹⁹ In 1626, then-governor Pieter Minuit had consolidated at Fort Amsterdam on Manhattan Island the settlers who had lived around the Delaware and north on the Hudson.²⁰ The fort was chosen to be at the confluence of Delaware and Hudson rivers and serve as a self-sufficient commercial port. Initially, the fort was a place primarily for housing WIC traders and the goods they traded to the surrounding Native peoples for wampum, and for furs farther up the Hudson. The houses inside the fort were warehouses as well as shelter. They were designed such that “the second story of all the adjoining houses, nine feet high and twenty-five feet square, shall throughout be reserved for the use of the Company, to store therein all the provisions belonging to the Company, as well as all the trading goods and furs and whatever else belongs to the Company. And after other suitable places therefore shall have been found, they shall be used as grain-lofts which applied to all the houses in the entire fort, but the garrets above the second story shall be for the use of the respective houses.”²¹ Clearly, the Company's early focus was on trading, rather than permanent settlement.²²

The WIC claimed a vast territory. The Company sought to exclusively possess and profit from the land between the Hudson (North), Connecticut (Fresh), and Delaware (South) rivers. They had control over Manhattan, which included New Amsterdam, and smaller villages surrounding it. The initial settlements in New Netherland, protected by earthen or timber forts, were contact points for WIC agents and Native Americans to trade, and marked the boundaries of the WIC's claimed territory. Settlement helped the Company assert possession and maximize the potential for profit. By 1650, there were Dutch settlements on Manhattan, and farther up the Hudson near present-day Albany around Fort Orange and at Kiliaen van Rensselaer's

colony Rensselaerswijk. In both Jan Janssonius's and Visscher's maps, this western outpost lies in between the written Latin and Dutch names for the claimed Dutch territory: *Nieuw Nederlandt* and *Nova Belgica* (figures 26 and 22). To the north (right side of the map) *Nieuw Engelandt* and *Nova Anglia* are written, marking the northern boundaries of the Dutch-claimed territory, while *Virginia Pars* marks the south. In the Visscher map at the New York State Library illustrated here, the boundaries preferred by the Dutch are further delineated by the addition of pink pigment, clearly indicating separation from English areas. Native American peoples in these areas are labeled in small script. Like the illustrations of turkeys and rabbits, these various groups visually are encompassed within the borders of these European-named areas. The substantial presence of their own settlements—on land which they might be said to thereby possess—significantly are drawn outside of the Dutch territorial boundaries.

These topographical maps published circa 1650 followed two earlier maps that coincided with the WIC's first colonizing policies in New Netherland, Gerritszoon's map, first published in de Laet's *Nieuwe Wereldt* from 1630, and Willem Blaeu's map of 1635 (figures 24–25). Since the Company's inception, some of the Amsterdam directors, including de Laet, Kiliaen van Rensselaer, and Samuel Godijn, had wanted to exploit the provision for colonization in the Company's charter.²³ Thus, when colonization was incentivized by patroonships as allowed under new the Freedoms and Exemptions (*Vryheden ende Exemptien*) charter, the vested patroons had an interest in disseminating information such as maps to potential colonists.

In 1624, the first ship of colonists had set sail to New Netherland, landing on Noten (Nutten) Island (today Governor's Island). Nicolaes van Wassenae printed almanacs in which he detailed news from the New World. Van Wassenae marked the deposit of thirty Walloon (French-speaking Calvinists from the Southern Netherlands) families from the ship *Halve Maen* in May 1624, and that the WIC ship *Mackreel* had arrived in December 1623.²⁴ The new inhabitants leased the land they occupied from the Company. The relative insignificance of colonization in the early decades of the WIC is further indicated by the fact that development of New Amsterdam was not regularized as was the case in other colonial cities in the East (for example, Batavia), and at Mauritsstad. The only plan seems to have been made by surveyor Quirijn Frederickszoon van Lobbrecht circa 1625, and was a design for garden plots planned perpendicular to Fort Amsterdam, in accord with plans for contemporary Dutch military castra.²⁵ The gardens provided space for cannon shot and crops from them could sustain soldiers in the fort.²⁶ In 1628, Nicolaes van Wassenae reported there being only "two hundred

and seventy souls" on Manhattan—clearly an indication of the WIC's initial emphasis on trade rather than colonization at this early date.²⁷

The "provisional orders" established the obligations and privileges of the WIC's first settlers in New Netherland.²⁸ Members of the families from the *Halve Maen* were employed by the Company for six years, without pay. Instead, they received free passage, victuals for two years, and seeds and animals to start a farm. Walloons of course, were already displaced, fleeing the war in the Southern Netherlands, so such an opportunity was not much of a choice. The provisional orders encouraged settlers to engage in trade as trappers and middlemen, and asserted the Company's prerogative to be the sole purchaser of furs. It also reserved the Company's rights to allot land to the settlers as lessees. The right to tax the pelts traded by settlers and levy freight charges were the principal powers the Company would retain in the subsequent freedoms provided in 1629 and 1639. Before the inclusion of patroonships, the selection of settlement sites and which crops were to be planted were only the purview of the Company. The governor in command was instructed to allocate land on the basis of family size, and crops were to be selected on the basis of what was best for the colony as a whole. Moreover, settlement sites were to be chosen with respect to defense and the needs of the fur trade.

In addition to the initial "provisional orders" concerning settlers' rights, a set of "further instructions" provided settlers with the framework for a justice system. The instructions mandated that settlers follow the ordinances and customs of Holland and Zeeland, and the "common written law qualifying them."²⁹ Initially, justice was meted centrally via the governor and his council, whose members were selected by the WIC chamber in Amsterdam, although vacancies were often provisionally filled on the spot.³⁰ The WIC provided legal reference books to help adjudication, including Grotius's *Jurisprudence of Holland*, Joost van Damhouder's *Praxis Crimineel* (Procedures in Criminal Matters), and Paulus Merula's *Maniere van Procederen* (Civil Procedures of the Courts of Holland, Zeeland, and West-Friesland). In Holland, the justice system had three levels of adjudication depending on the severity of the civil claim, criminal indictment, or legislative action. The director and his appointed council were in effect, the low and middle bench, until a village was large enough to warrant their own low court, while the WIC retained the powers of the high bench. The director, in correspondence with the WIC, could mete out high justice, such as capital punishment, but more commonly he would send such criminal cases to the Netherlands.³¹ Similarly, any changes or new ordinances and laws were to be sent to the WIC directors to be approved or rejected.

In 1628, the colonizing faction of WIC directors gained control of the New Netherland Committee in the Amsterdam chamber.³² In June 1629 they approved the Charter of Freedoms and Exemptions, which provided the basis for patroonships and broke the Company monopoly on the fur trade. Patroonships were a way to give more autonomy to the private Amsterdam merchants, and the directors hoped, to relieve some of the Company's expenses while expanding opportunities for trade. Patroons bore settlers' expenses, and the WIC expected that a market would be created for manufactured imports and that duties on furs and other exports would be forthcoming. The new policy provided huge land tracts to patroons who could furnish at least fifty settlers within four years. Patroons were to negotiate with the Native "occupiers" for the land (by way of contractual obligation), and the WIC granted them the right to cultivate it and keep it as heritable, and dispose of it by last will and testament.³³ The lots were to be organized onto the landscape in the traditional mode of rectangular plots perpendicular to water. The 1629 charter, approved by the *Heren XIX* on June 7, allowed patroons to "extend their limits four miles along the coast, or along a navigable river, or two miles along both sides of a river and as far inland as the ability of the occupiers will allow them."³⁴ Significantly, de Laet described his commission for land with nine others ("the Company of Ten") as similar to "companies for the diking of land."³⁵ In other words, the colonizing faction of the directors saw colonization as a way for established merchants to use their capital to profit via cultivation, rents, and tithes, just as they had with the Beemster, while the WIC could gain duty and freight fees. In New Netherland, it was as in the United Provinces: land acquisition was to profit the investors who leased the land.

As with other development projects, patroons understood that providing public, printed visual information could be used to attract settlers. Two maps were published in 1630 and 1635 to whet consumers' appetite for the new enterprise. With the growing interest in New Netherland after 1629–30, de Laet included a printed map of New Netherland in the second edition of the *Nieuwe Wereldt* of 1630 (figure 24). De Laet used an earlier chart drawn by Adriaen Block in 1614 as his source.³⁶ In both Block's manuscript and de Laet's printed map, the major rivers and many indigenous groups are labeled. Block clearly marked the area between Virginia to the south and New France to the north as *Nieuw Nederlandt*—the first time it was labeled as such. He also included the location of Fort Nassau on the Hudson, and the first representation of the island of Manhattan. De Laet, of course, had access to the journals and maps skippers and pilots were required to deposit with the Company, and he received full support from all the chambers

in preparation for the second edition: The Zeeland chamber, for example, loaned him several journals in 1627.³⁷ De Laet emphasized the update with this and other new maps by Gerritszoon in the new edition's introduction.

Because of his role in the colonization of New Netherland and his authorship of books about the WIC and its territories de Laet looms large in the history and historiography of New Netherland. He took part in the Synod of Dort on the side of the Gomarists, and was rewarded by the hawkish merchants and magistrates at Leiden by being put in charge of collecting Leiden's share of capital for the newly formed WIC in 1621. He collected 275,000 guilders, making Leiden second only to Amsterdam in contributions. De Laet thus earned his role as one of the *Heren XIX*.³⁸ He was an Amsterdam director from 1621–49 (except 1639–41), and he was selected to represent that chamber in the yearly meeting of the WIC at least five times; he also was selected to make trips to The Hague on behalf of the WIC. The charts in de Laet's books were drawn by Gerritszoon, the Company cartographer, with the ones in the *Jaerlycke Verhael* (1644) engraved after the Gerritszoon maps published earlier by Visscher. De Laet's interest in New Netherland particularly must have grown from his vast knowledge built from both his scholarly and mercantile pursuits. Throughout his life de Laet amassed a large collection of books and maps; in the 1650 sales catalog for his library, there were 1806 lots listed.³⁹ In addition to the theological, historical, and medical texts he collected, he owned a large geographical collection, which he used to write his own practical and theoretical texts, including the *New World, or Description of the West Indies* (first edition in 1625), the history of the WIC in the *Jaerlycke Verhael*, and the *Notae ad Dissertationem Hugonis Grotii* from 1643, a refutation of Grotius's thesis on the origin of Native Americans (*De origine gentium Americanarum*, 1642).⁴⁰ De Laet also oversaw the compilation of Georg Marcgraf and Willem Piso's *Historia Naturalia Brasiliae*, published by Blaeu in 1648, and he had written a comprehensive description of Brazil to guide Johan Maurits while he served as governor.⁴¹ Notably, the two texts geared toward a merchant audience, the *Nieuwe Wereldt* and *Jaerlycke Verhael*, were first published in Dutch, whereas the more intellectually oriented works he wrote in Latin.

After Gerritszoon's death in 1632, Willem Blaeu sought to profit from this new gap in colonial mapmaking by publishing a folio map of New Netherland, available for purchase as a single sheet or as part of the *Atlas Novus* of 1635⁴² (figure 25). This map was reissued by the Blaeu firm for many years virtually unchanged. Blaeu built upon the earlier charts of de Laet and Block by adding various decorative elements that made his map visually appealing and provided important ethnographical and zoological

information. It also reinforced Dutch territorial boundaries. He marked Virginia and New England, as well as the presence of indigenous people with their names overlaid on the topography, and the inclusion of carefully placed figural decoration. Two canoes in the ocean show how hollowed-out trees were used for transport, and two palisaded villages—well outside the boundaries of the European territories and labeled *modus vivendi apud Mahikanensis*—show the “mode of dwelling by the Mahikans.” Flanking the titular cartouche, an ethnographic pair presents a man holding bow and arrow and a woman with her hair adorned by two feathers. Above the cartouche is the coat of arms of the States General. Below the cartouche are two bears, while within the Dutch boundaries lie beavers, otters, deer, foxes, a weasel, storks, and turkeys. Fort Orange is labeled just below the pair of beavers. “Maquaes” (Mohawks) appears written on the west (above) side of the Hudson (North) River, while “Mahikans” is written on the east side, below. “Tappaens,” “Sannikans,” and “Manatthans” are marked farther east along the river toward Long Island. “Minquaes” and “Sennecas” are labeled along the Delaware (South) River.

Mapping where Native peoples lived was important for trade and claims to ownership of land and resources. Block’s 1614 manuscript map indicates as many groups and their locations as were then known to Dutch traders.⁴³ In Brazil, friendly Natives were brought into the Dutch system via alliances; *aldeas* remained led by local Tupi, who in turn, reported to a Dutch agent. In New Netherland, the Dutch were less dependent on alliances against a common Iberian enemy, and instead sought interaction only for trade or to purchase land. They established good terms with the Mahicans and Mohawks, who lived on both sides of the Hudson around Fort Orange. The Mohawks, whom the Dutch called “Maquas” or “Mahakobaasen,” became important suppliers of beaver pelts to the Dutch. The other Iroquois were known collectively as “Sinneken.” Along the Delaware and Hudson rivers included the Susquehannocks (who spoke an Iroquoian language), and the Munsee and Unami, who spoke Munsee and Algonquian dialects, respectively, and are often collectively called Delaware or Lenape. Some of these southern groups—including the Wappinger, Tappan, and Manhattan—are indicated on Blaeu’s map. Janssonius and Visscher added more topographical detail and listed additional groups like the Raritan and Canarsee in their subsequent editions.

The interactions between the Dutch and the Native peoples along the northern Hudson River with those near Manhattan provide a stark contrast: the Mohawks and Mahicans generally were considered friendly to the Dutch, whereas there were three significant violent conflicts between the

Dutch and Natives in the southern area of New Netherland between 1639 and 1664.⁴⁴ These conflicts had ramifications for land acquisition by the WIC and colonists, and their respective views of governance and control over territories. The more northerly Mohawks and Mahicans traded furs to the Dutch and the currency they preferred was the *sewan* or wampum, which the Dutch obtained from the Munsee and Unami in the lower Hudson and Delaware Bay areas.⁴⁵ The Dutch typically paid for furs and wampum alike with a variety of items, including baked goods, cloth and clothing, various metal tools, guns, ammunition, and liquor (although the WIC prohibited trading arms and ammunition). Wampum could be used as currency, and because of its special use in ceremonial occasions, it could also facilitate other deals. Because of Dutch demand for wampum and the Munsee's growing reliance on Dutch manufactured goods, Munsee peoples began to focus on making more wampum from the shells around the bay, to the exclusion of other trades and farming. However, this emphasis on a single commodity weakened the Munsee's power in the trading relationship and their claim to territory. The combination of the Munsees losing their lands as more settlers came and being forced to abandon subsistence farming as they grew increasingly dependent on European manufactured goods increasingly enveloped them into the highly alienating Dutch commodities market.⁴⁶ This systemic economic dependence led not only to alienation, but to violent conflicts with the Dutch, and loss of Munsee life, land, and political sovereignty.

Indeed, the conception of land as a possessable thing and the concomitant need for a structure to govern "the administration of things" such as contracts, title transfer, and legality for rights of perpetual disposal of land, not to mention taxes, was culturally unknown to Native Americans. It is well known that for many peoples, land is conceptualized as an element like air, fire, clouds, and wind, and thus cannot be possessed (a concept Grotius used in arguing the seas were unpossessable). Possession—if it can even be called that—was tied to a concept of utility, where land was lived upon and sustained not for an individual, but for the collective. It was, in effect, a managed commons. A people's ability to use the land, in addition to their historical, religious, and mystical connections to it, allowed peoples to claim particular territories and use it when needed, even if they were not permanently settled there. The WIC, and patroons, had no such claims. However, their perceived entitlements were the written deeds and drawn maps that delineated the boundaries of properties, and that indicated by name or sign who occupied a particular space. From the Dutch perspective, their acquisition of land was completely legal—rights were exclusive and

held in perpetuity until another obligation was agreed to, whereas for most Native American groups, the latter concepts did not translate.

Land acquisition from Native Americans by the Dutch thus was largely a result of cultural miscommunication. To be sure, the process by which land was obtained was highly ceremonial for both sides.⁴⁷ The WIC required that land transfers be restricted to negotiated treaties between the WIC and Native representatives, and that Company officials presided over the transfer. These contracts in turn helped the WIC establish their territorial claims to the neighboring English. Native leaders understood land to be used and occupied jointly with the Dutch in the agreements they made. They did not envision a permanent transfer of exclusive rights and title, or even recognize the concept of land as an alienable thing. The Natives considered their sovereignty preserved, even while they agreed to share rights of use. The Natives who "sold" Manhattan in 1626 continued to live there, as did the Munsee people who remained on Staten Island, even reselling that land several times.⁴⁸ The WIC, however, considered treaties according to their cultural beliefs informed by Roman-Dutch law. In Grotius's conception of property, the individual is held up as exclusive proprietor and producer whose duty it is to contribute to the commonality, rather than a conception of the land belonging to all people, and the people as one. As alienable, land-as-property required contracts of ownership. Sovereignty came with possession, legally obtained (in Dutch views) by treaty and subsequent occupation and cultivation. The Company was adamant about maintaining legal possession and corresponding sovereignty and ability to extract taxes and tolls. That most of the maps published correspond with this period of land acquisition speaks to both the WIC and patroons' intention to legally document ownership and territorial boundaries in the 1640s and 1650s.

Unfortunately for the Company, between 1626 and 1644, the WIC documented a net loss of 550,000 guilders. Still, the States General considered the WIC to have made "corrections" and wanted the Company to continue its activities in New Netherland, most significantly of which was to increase population.⁴⁹ This was something the Amsterdam chamber was eager to do, and the directors relate as much constantly in their letters to Stuyvesant. The "corrections" included an addendum of articles and conditions to the 1629 Freedoms and Exemptions charter in order to encourage more settlement so to increase duty revenue and increase demand in the market for manufactured imports. The changes made in 1639 further opened up land acquisition for individual investors from the Republic. The New Articles and Conditions allowed individuals to get two hundred acres of free land from Company provided they could settle it with five family members or servants.

The initial draft plan to open trade was made by the Amsterdam chamber in 1638, but it had to be revised because its terms were deemed unacceptable by the States General. The new plan, while provisional, opened trade to all on two conditions (1) that transatlantic shipments be made on Company ships, and (2) that a tax be paid to the Company for shipment. The initial Company plan had specified a 10-percent freight tax on all imports, and a 15-percent tax on all products exported from New Netherland.⁵⁰ In the provisional resolution approved by the States General, the WIC retained the right to levy duties on the furs traded and agricultural products shipped, but the percentages were reduced.⁵¹ Duties and charges for warehousing and transporting goods were the means by which a little profit could be made, as Johan Maurits had noted in the Brazilian case. The WIC hoped that by attracting a sufficient number of colonists, the WIC's payroll could be reduced, and the Company could still make profits as carriers.⁵² By supporting colonization by patroonships and then through individual land grants, the Company took a minimalist approach—to spend the bare minimum on government, soldiers, and staff, and to obtain profits from duties and freight. Even still, most settlers were free from the tithe (or tenths) for ten years, and in times of poor harvest or Native violence.

The minimalist approach led to problems. The Company had to answer to its stockholders in Amsterdam, and now, to a growing number of colonists. Stockholders viewed policy in commercial terms, colonists in terms of the organization of and agency within their society. In shifting the policy from direct commercial participation to regulation in 1639, the Company had to become more involved in governance.⁵³ Many private traders took advantage of the new policy, but their self-interested profit seeking bothered the Company directors and those who sought permanent settlement alike. Moreover, the accelerated rate of growth of settlers seeking cultivatable land and fur traders in need of pelts and wampum drastically changed the social and environmental space of the Natives living in the lower Hudson Valley.⁵⁴ These factors, combined with poor decisions by Willem Kieft, led to confusion, violence, and colonist discontent in the 1640s.

In 1639, governor Kieft demanded that the Natives around Manhattan pay taxes in pelts, corn, or wampum, in order to support the colony and the defense the Dutch supposedly provided them against their enemies. On September 15, Kieft issued a resolution: "As the Company has to bear great expenses, both in building fortifications and in the upkeep of soldiers and sailors, we have therefore resolved to demand from the *Indianen* around here (whom we have until now protected from their enemies) some *contributie* like pelts, maize, and *sewan*, and if there is any nation which is unwilling

to agree in friendship to contribute, [we] will seek to bring them to this by the most justified means."⁵⁵ It followed that some of Kieft's soldiers helped themselves to pelts, and then Kieft used an instance where some Raritans had killed settlers' pigs to justify a violent retaliation. These altercations led to others, together known as the First Munsee War, or Kieft's War. However, the seeds of alienation between the Munsees and the Dutch had been sown long before as a result of the imposition of an economic system that was suffocatingly narrow—capital accumulation seemingly could only happen in one direction according to the rules of those with the capital, and the growth they demanded. The Munsee largely became marginalized in trade and dispossessed of their tribal territories.

Kieft had similar issues surrounding governance and taxation with Dutch settlers and patroons. After more settlers arrived, villages with twenty to thirty families could have a low court chartered (*kleine bank van justitie*) which adjudicated fights, threats, debts, slander, and petitions. This court was made up of local magistrates (*schepenen*) selected by the director and his council from a list of twice as many names. The court was overseen by the *schout*, who acted as bailiff and prosecuting attorney.⁵⁶ Patroonships allowed the patroon to reserve the authority of the low, middle, and high benches of justice, as well as the right to "own and possess and hold from the Company as a perpetual fief of inheritance, all the land lying within the aforesaid limits, together with the fruits, plants, minerals, rivers, and springs thereof . . . [and] rights of fishing, fowling, and grinding, to the exclusion of all others"⁵⁷ (emphases mine). Here, Grotius's definition of exclusivity is explicitly written. Like the WIC, which had initially leased land to the first settlers, the patroons saw themselves not only as landowners, but moral and righteous governors. Still, the privileges of jurisdiction and administration granted to the patroons by the WIC in the tradition of manorial rights were "on loan" from the sovereign entity—the WIC.⁵⁸ The WIC ultimately required the patroon to submit to the authority of the WIC, just as the Company submitted to the States General. Although initially settlers were granted reprieve from tithes in order to become established, it was over this issue, in addition to the violence suffered under Kieft, that conflict arose in later years. Patroons thought they were to receive the tenths, and the Amsterdam chamber made it explicit that the tenths were explicitly reserved for the Company, rather than the patroon, in 1639.⁵⁹ The patroons were not happy.

The printed maps by Gerritszoon/de Laet and Blaeu in the 1630s were used to inform and attract investors and traders, and to present boundaries to other European nations; as such, they are broader and emphasize the details important to the fur trade and the boundaries of New Netherland.

In contrast, more localized maps such as those used by patroons, helped the investor plan his agriculturally oriented colony from afar. Kiliaen van Rensselaer was able to dictate where to place farms and mills, and where his colonists should live three thousand miles from his mansion on the Keizersgracht.⁶⁰

In the 1630s and 1640s, the WIC tried by various means to balance its colonial aims with its trading goals in New Netherland. The Company's policies necessarily involved Roman-Dutch legal understanding of natural rights and possession, and who had the right to govern and collect duties and taxes. After twenty years of uneven colonial activity in New Netherland, Visscher's and Nieuwenhof's printed maps were necessary to present positive views of the territory at a politically difficult period for many people living in the Republic and its colonies. On the one hand, the independent nation recently had been recognized by Spain, although even the Treaty of Munster was not easily ratified in the Republic itself. On the other hand, maintaining control of the colonies in Brazil and New Netherland was growing ever more expensive and problematic for the WIC. Although colonization became more of a priority than it had been initially, it also brought problems for the WIC. The Amsterdam directors constantly iterated in their letters to Stuyvesant that more colonists were imperative to the success of the colony in order to stave off English encroachment, Native attacks, and to increase profit. At the same time, they lamented the lack of tax revenues and colonists' refusal to pay tithes, as we shall see below. Colonization seemed to have created more problems than those it solved.

The 1649 Affair

The bloody conflicts with the Munsees under Kieft, and Stuyvesant's subsequent attempts to restore control, rubbed many of the new colonists, including van der Donck, the wrong way. Since 1641, van der Donck had been a clerk for van Rensselaer at Rensselaerswijk. However, he grew increasingly disaffected with the management of things there, and moved to New Amsterdam. He took advantage of the new land policy to establish his own farm, Colendonck, now Yonkers, on Manhattan in 1646.⁶¹ It was his and other settlers' desire to have his own land rights and authority that led van der Donck and others in the Council of Nine to seek redress from the States General.

Like the patroons, van der Donck wanted to cultivate his own land in the new colony, free from the WIC and its control.⁶² In 1646 Kieft granted him twenty-four thousand acres of land north of Manhattan. Owning the estate

of Colendonck allowed him to use the honorific *jonkheer* and title himself via his land, as merchants also recently had done in Holland. Since he was trained as a lawyer and had been elected as the leader of the Nine Men in 1648, van der Donck was set the task of combining the council's issues in a remonstrance he penned in July, 1649. The remonstrance focused on the mismanagement by Kieft and what he viewed as the tyrannical leadership of the current governor, Stuyvesant. It detailed the decrepit conditions of the built structures, and the need for organization and social institutions partly under the jurisdiction of the States General. In the remonstrance, the fort is described as so eroded that it was unable to support artillery, and the wind-mill lacked two sails because the structure was, according to the colonists, unable to support the extra weight. Van der Donck was also concerned about establishing legal, recognized boundaries for New Netherland in order to defend against English encroachment, and advocated for measures to be taken to increase the number of emigrants to New Netherland.⁶³

Van der Donck subsequently led the colonial delegation which presented their complaints to the States General in October.⁶⁴ Jacobs suggests that his leadership here should be considered in the context of his legal training and his aspirations as a patroon with seigneurial rights: he wrote a petition which sought recourse for what he perceived to be his right to own and govern property exclusively. With the remonstrance, van der Donck effectively became a pawn for the nobility in the Republic.⁶⁵ Van der Donck's remonstrance followed previous attempts to appeal for new governance that had been made by residents and patroons Cornelis Melijn and Jochem Pieterszoon Kuijter. Melijn, along with the nobleman Godard van Reede van Nederhorst, had established a patroonship on Staten Island in 1641. Van Reede put up the capital and Melijn lived there and managed it, as van der Donck had done at Rensselaerswijk, until it was destroyed in the first Munsee War. Melijn and Kuijter had petitioned for new governance of New Netherland and had vehemently opposed Kieft, even attempting to bring charges against him in 1647. Fearing further sedition, Stuyvesant had them tried and exiled soon after his arrival.⁶⁶ Kuijter, Melijn, and van Reede each had reasons to oust the WIC's appointed governor. The discord raised the question of the ability, and the natural right, of a merchant company to govern.

The declining nobility wanted to maintain what little authority they had in the Netherlands. As incomes from landholdings declined in the Republican period, the traditional careers as military men under the leadership of the stadholder, or positions within *ridderschap* (board of nobles) became important means for receiving income and maintaining the lifestyles expected of their status.⁶⁷ In Holland, a nobleman's access to income outside

of his estate was in the offices of the *ridderschap*.⁶⁸ The Peace of Westphalia threatened the nobility's position even more. After the peace treaty was ratified (albeit barely), the States General ordered a reduction in the number of troops backing the stadholder. Willem II and his allies then came tête-à-tête against the Amsterdam merchants from Holland. As Jacobs has recently uncovered, both the nobility and Amsterdam merchants manipulated proceedings of the States General surrounding the van der Donck affair in order to benefit their respective interests.

Patroonships in New Netherland could be a way for nobles like van Reede to limit the power of Amsterdam merchants, in effect, by playing at their own game. In the sixteenth century, the nobility had wielded quite a lot of power through their ability to govern by right of land ownership. They hated the ascendance of the nouveau riche merchants in Holland who wielded power in the States General based on that province's ample contribution to the general budget. Indeed, pamphlets like the *Breeden-Radt* (probably written by Melijn) and van der Donck's remonstrance suggested that the problems in Brazil and New Netherland were a result of the unsuitability of merchants to govern.⁶⁹

Throughout the van der Donck affair, the question was of authority and who had a right to govern. Van der Donck's remonstrance, as Jacobs has pointed out, was deliberately vague, with wording that was similar to eastern provinces' assemblies, where landowning nobility had seats.⁷⁰ Van der Donck thereby emphasized what he hoped for the role of patroons in developing—and governing—New Netherland. And, significantly, he completely flouted the chain of command, by directly petitioning the States General. Company *fiscaal* (comptroller) and secretary to Stuyvesant, Cornelis van Tienhoven, countered in defense to the States General: "If the people require institutions . . . they must contribute toward them as is the custom in this country."⁷¹ In other words, the Company believed the patroons to be subordinate, and all colonists, including patroons, had a duty to pay tithes, and recognize the Company's authority.

Ultimately, the States General issued a provisional order in April 1650 for the directors to create a more liberal government in New Netherland modeled on independent Dutch cities. Although revised substantially after machinations made by the WIC directors at Amsterdam and their cohort burgomasters of Amsterdam, it is an independent Dutch city that we see pictured in Visscher's view of New Amsterdam.⁷²

Meanwhile, in a last ditch effort to get public opinion on his side, van der Donck had the remonstrance published from The Hague, without any

illustrations, by Michael Stael (*Vertoogh van Nieuwe Nederland*, 1650). The publication would have done well in a market where official and unofficial information from abroad was in high demand. Pergens's and Raye's comment that "formerly New Netherland was never spoken of, and now heaven and earth seem to be stirred up by it" indicates that printed information about New Netherland was a hot commodity in Amsterdam around 1650. Along with van der Donck's pamphlet, seven other pamphlets critical of the WIC were published anonymously and circulated in 1649, including the *Breeden-Radt*. Amsterdam "pirate" publisher Joost Hartgerszoon also capitalized on this renewed interest in New Netherland by publishing a description of the colonies in Virginia, New Netherland, New England, and Bermuda, with imaginative engravings, in 1651.⁷³ Certainly any publisher would have wanted to sell a map that could derive sales from the increased media focus on the WIC and New Netherland. The WIC, too, was not silent during this period, writing ample correspondence to Stuyvesant indicating its position and suggesting its desire to control information.⁷⁴ Visscher's map with the view was probably part of their reaction to these events 1649–51. Not until 1652 were their High Mightinesses able to follow up on the provisional order from 1650. They did so by granting a municipal charter to the city of New Amsterdam, modeled according to "the laudable customs of Amsterdam."⁷⁵

Cornelis van Tienhoven had returned to New Netherland in the summer of 1651. Subsequently, in 1653, van der Donck was allowed back to New Netherland, provided that he behaved himself. By this time, it seems that the directors at Amsterdam understood that van der Donck's work could be useful to shed positive light on the opportunities available to colonists—if presented positively—and their desire to control his output might have been one of the reasons why van der Donck was allowed to return to New Netherland and consult the Company's records.⁷⁶

Still, the WIC was working toward limiting the many freedoms enjoyed by the patroons in order to reestablish their jurisdiction and control. Indeed, in a letter to the mayors of Amsterdam delivered February 13, 1652, the directors wrote that they found themselves "very much embarrassed and inconvenienced by the colonies granted in former times with too-extensive privileges and exemptions, which have made their owners so arrogant that some of them went so far in misusing their privileges as to believe that they could prevent and forbid inhabitants of New Netherland to trade within their colonies. This is contrary to the law of nature as understood in this country and by this people."⁷⁷ It seems as though the directors here are spe-

cifically referring to the natural law of Grotius to support their assertion that colonists and patroons contribute to the sovereign central authority of the commonality—the WIC, whose authority devolved from the States General.

New Amsterdam Renewed

Thus, Visscher's map and view responds to twenty years of WIC negotiations by presenting the boundaries of WIC possession, and importantly, the view of New Amsterdam as like Amsterdam. The map-with-view and its republication in 1656 provided a coherent visual response that fully supported the policies of the WIC and its merchant directors, many of whom were connected to the regents governing Amsterdam. The significance of the view in both printed formats suggests that the view continued to be used to promote colonization by describing a developed and stable mercantile city. In the *Description of New Netherland*, van der Donck expanded upon the description of the colony that he had provided in the *Vertoogh*. Van der Donck finished the manuscript for the *Description* in 1653, just after his return to New Netherland, and it was published in 1655 by Evert Nieuwenhof.⁷⁸ Van der Donck had a new publisher in Nieuwenhof, and Nieuwenhof made his ideological association exceedingly clear by dedicating the book to the burgomasters of Amsterdam and the directors of the Amsterdam chamber of the WIC.⁷⁹ Indeed, Nieuwenhof sought approval of the book by the WIC directors at Amsterdam, receiving it on February 25, 1655. He included a printed extract of the council minutes, along with the Privileges and Copyright granted on May 24, 1653, by the States General for fifteen years, and a similar license from the States of Holland and West Friesland in July 21, 1653, in the preface. Evidently, Nieuwenhof wanted—and was willing to wait for—the directors' approbation. Official sanction with a privilege from the States General also came to Visscher's map by the time his son published the fourth state of it, after 1656.⁸⁰

Significantly, Nieuwenhof included his version of Visscher's map in the second edition of 1656. He praises their management and specifically emphasizes the profit to be had in New Netherland. Nieuwenhof wrote that he wants to "make known the beauties and advantages of the flourishing Colony . . . which under [The WIC's] wise and careful direction is advancing in prosperity, all of which should be publicly known, particularly in this city [Amsterdam] ." Nieuwenhof goes on to praise the "care and vigilance" (*vlijte ende sorge*) of the directors in seeking to "increase the power of the Colony by settlers therein . . . [that] they may, with industry and economy, acquire property and gain wealth."⁸¹ In the letter to the reader, Nieuwenhof

continues his praise of both New Netherland and the Company and notes, as a way of lauding the directors, how the *Description* usefully provides for the reader the WIC's very liberal regulations on land ownership:

Besides the accurate description of the nature and qualities of the soil, it also contains the excellent regulations of their Worships (*het loffelijke Reglement dat hare E. Ho. Ab hebben laten affigieren*) . . . to whom they have granted as much land as each shall be able to improve for pasture or cultivation, *under the same restrictions as are imposed on landholders at home*. The understanding reader will learn from the articles comprised . . . of the sincere desire of their Worships to make a liberal provision for those countries; and thus will be exhibited new proofs of their wisdom⁸² (emphases mine).

Indeed, the poem that introduces the book uses the metaphor of Holland's Garden to compare the care Amsterdam burgomasters have for domestic projects like the Beemster and governance with the care WIC officials have for the colony at New Netherland; that leadership will lead to the profit of all: "Still *Amstel's* faithful Burger-Lords live/ And extend their care *East and West* for the good of the commonality; / And govern the Land and people with wisdom/ That almost like beasts in the wilderness go/ With gray and wise care they keep *Holland's Garden*/ And in *New Netherland* would be Christians too." For Nieuwenhof, the WIC's actions, too, are for the good of the commonality and the spread of righteous belief. He emphasizes the Company's good governance and successful trade to reinforce the naturalness of this order.

All the elements Nieuwenhof added to van der Donck's *Description* show his desire as a publisher to work with the WIC and civic leaders. The poem, praising the wisdom and governance of the WIC, complemented the new map that Nieuwenhof made a point of advertising on the frontispiece, and the prefatory letters and extracts from WIC council minutes further underscored a representation of the Company's just policy toward the colonists.

After these trying times, there was a sizable increase of colonists in New Netherland in the 1650s. Some were displaced from Brazil, others perhaps enticed by the *Description* and Visscher's map. By 1664, at least 2,000 and possibly as many as 3,500 people were living in New Amsterdam.⁸³ Sixty percent had arrived between 1654 and 1664.⁸⁴ By 1657, residents of New Amsterdam were able to swear an oath and purchase a "burgher right" to trade freely in the municipality.⁸⁵ These rights of course, like the provisions of the municipal charter, were modeled on those provided in Amsterdam. They represented years of negotiation among colonists, WIC directors, and

the States General, negotiations that must also have been shaped by printed discourse and imagery.⁸⁶

Conclusion

The ascendancy of the new colonial capital after its initial growing pains is captured in a letter from Stuyvesant to the directors from 1660. Along with his submission of a new cadastral survey that had been deemed necessary due to the increase in inhabitants and corresponding need for the WIC to document, surveil, and tax them, Stuyvesant included a profile view “in case you should be inclined to have it engraved and publish it . . . in a corner.”⁸⁷ Clearly Stuyvesant understood the importance of the visual in reinforcing a message of the city’s economic and administrative success. As we have seen, the geographical information and profile view that Visscher compiled resulted from interest in New Netherland instigated by national and international events affecting the WIC and its interests. The way that Visscher presented New Netherland would have had wide appeal at this time of conflict. The profile city view provided the details necessary to draw visual similarities between Amsterdam and New Amsterdam, and these figurative details suggested common goals of development and trade. The profile reinforced the WIC’s rhetoric that the young colony was a stable and secure trading emporium, a place safe for investment and settlement. At the same time, the topographical map asserted Dutch territories and boundaries from the English just before the first Anglo-Dutch war.

Capitalizing on the problems surrounding colonial governance, Visscher presented a coherent picture of New Amsterdam as a civilized trade emporium that was at once universal and specific. While it could appeal to WIC directors, merchants, and future colonists, it also appealed generally to Amsterdammers’ common civic pride and Dutch unity and the values on which the Republic was founded. The combination of topographic and figurative information made for a versatile and competitive format in the bustling print publishing economy of Amsterdam, while still promoting a single message of stability, control, and WIC authority.

Capitalism and Cartography Revisited

What matters most for the bourgeois subject is not the fact of possessing, objectifying, or incorporating a given property or thing, but rather, the extension of one's power and potential for action (cf. *suum*), for which possession is merely a pretext.¹

—Grant Kester

I've presented this book as small case studies in order to shed light on issues that are as pertinent today as they were four hundred years ago. These concerns involve individual agency and the negotiation of power among a privileged few and the global implications of those negotiations when amplified to the role of economically and militarily dominant states in the world. More narrowly, I consider how images can emphasize and perpetuate tautological ways of thinking: what is militaristically and environmentally efficient is seen as necessary. When such "necessary" efficiencies are adapted for the pursuit of wealth, the same kind of violence that reinforces and reifies the purpose of the military or the alteration of landscape also is manifest. Violence is part of the logic of capitalism. Of course, efficiency can save lives, and altering nature is part of any creature's life. Ecology studies the integration of players in an environment to understand how they interact; recognizing multiplicity and diverse needs to create balance is part of understanding these modes of interaction. With the same Greek root, *oikos*, or household, economics also cannot be conceived without considering the myriad and dynamic social components that necessarily act and interplay in the management of things. However, in military, environmental, or economic matters, blind rationalism can obscure the violence "rational" policies can cause in human relations and space.

As Bourdieu and others have shown, the ways in which people use cultural capital can reinforce or subvert power. Visscher was a print entrepreneur within a capitalist system, where news maps were a product innovation that helped him obtain the attention of authorities in the WIC, military, and States General. His news maps coincided with periods of optimism and of

divisiveness in the new Republic and his maps projected a coherent message that reinforced the prerogatives of the wealthy governing elite. Indeed, maps and other images supported a self-congratulatory rhetoric of exceptional Dutch mercantile virtue and rationality. Visscher's sympathies toward the stadholder and Orangist faction helped gain him prominence in military news dissemination early on in the 1620s, and with the formation of the WIC, that role burgeoned into being a primary publisher of news maps of American territories. As an Amsterdam tradesman with a small profit margin, he also had affinities to his local municipality. Since the first quarter of the century he had presented Amsterdam's significance to the Republic, and to the world as a whole, in print series and maps. While loyalty to both Amsterdam and the noble stadholder may at times seem to conflict (particularly around 1650), news and information presented pictorially was still widely appealing because of the general Dutch assertions of national military and economic power. That Amsterdam merchants and the stadholder contingent sometimes chafed against each other was not a problem when land and growth were unifying nationalistic themes. Probably for Visscher, the maps of both Amsterdam and American colonial territories under the governance of the WIC were similar to the siege maps against Spain that he published in the 1620s. Visscher's maps presented a common nationalism that at root was based in the superior virtue and corresponding economic wealth of the Dutch people. These messages also, then, underscored merchant directives and echoed the rhetoric of Barlaeus, Grotius, and the upper echelons of Dutch society. Visscher's maps presented an authoritative image of a growing nation, rationalized via claims to eyewitness and ancient history, and appealing to perceived moral virtues of development and trade.

That is not to say Visscher's maps or the elite's messages were the only voices speaking. Indeed, the very aspects of the Dutch political system that made governance slow and unwieldy are the same qualities that make it a model to adapt for governance today. Divisible sovereignty displaced absolute power and a centralized federal government, and there were mechanisms by which negotiation among various players could occur. Colonists brought forth remonstrances to the States General; colonial municipal councils were formed; even indigenous leaders were able to petition the States General. Moreover, printed pamphlets circulated ideas critical of policies and leaders, as van der Donck, Melijn, and Kuijter's examples show. However, as we have seen in the case studies examined here, the federal, provincial, and municipal government actors were too closely tied to commercial interests. The governing elite too often were the same individuals who held the most capital. Those with money could invest in larger, more

widely disseminated and visually appealing products. In other words, their voices were the loudest because they were the most visible.

The contexts in which Visscher created his printed news maps raise issues concerning the role of mainstream media and the kind of information authenticated by the rationalizing arguments of a wealthy elite. In Visscher's maps, particular messages that privileged positivism, efficiency, and rationalism combined with appeals to history and law to form a singular narrative thread. Authorized information from the States General, WIC, military, and their agents authenticated news distributed to the public, while unauthorized information and remonstrances from sailors, colonists, or other dissenters leaked to news publishers could be seen as subversive, even treasonous. In other words, under the belief that making money could be virtuous, various "efficiencies" allowed for unjust practices, beneficial to a relative few trying to maintain control.

Control over particular forms of knowledge and its authorized dissemination via mainstream media translates to how control over actual spaces and resources was perceived. In the case of Amsterdam's growth, wealthy elites ordered the world visually on maps and physically on the landscape through projects like the Beemster. In territories abroad, cities and boundaries were marked by visual indications of possession and organization. Society was ordered, and indicated as such by spatial organization, underscoring an apparent naturalness to the order of society. All was done under the aegis of virtue and rationality, which also linked mercantilist profit and war to the well-being of the nation. As Barlaeus and Grotius articulated, proprietorship, tending the commonality-as-garden, and obtaining revenue was the prerogative, duty, and privilege of governing regents in order to project and bring about unity. The display of the object—the map—itself reinforced the hierarchical social system of the Republic and, more generally, of the Dutch in the world. Here maps were part of the creation and display of bourgeois distinctiveness in that they projected the official, legitimate view of national solidarity, military triumph, and wealth. At the same time, maps and broadsides were also available to many on the open market, so that the citizenry too could feel ownership.

The same people who had accumulated enough wealth to invest in projects at home and overseas continuously sought ways to increase their wealth in ventures like land reclamation projects or patroonships. These ventures were legitimized by the perceived good the projects would bring to the nation as a whole. They further were able to buy pictures and have maps printed that underscored this hierarchy and made it seem natural and beneficial for all. Merchant elites wanted to display their wealth and their concomitant

virtue and attendant capability for governance by collecting exotica and art; by wearing Japanese robes, sharing their knowledge of and investments in global trade with maps displayed on walls, and tending gardens that held all sorts of exotica from abroad.² A devotion to empirical knowledge derived from the accounts of travelers, maps, and collected objects was a form of power because of the control possible in how it was organized. In gardens, cabinets of curiosity, and the like, elites organized and displayed their wealth and knowledge and, correspondingly, their control—creating a world within one's hand.³ Similarly, it is not surprising that the high-life genre paintings indicative of the Golden Age—such as those by Vermeer, de Man, ter Borch, and de Hooch—were themselves luxury items and reflected the same social distinctions that formed elite Dutch identity. Merchants appropriated the visualization of accumulated knowledge, and other citizens could seemingly share in it by purchasing more affordable prints.

Spatial and social control was projected in real space and on maps, significantly in a period of individual capital accumulation and rationalization of the economy and government. The rhetoric of good governance as being linked to virtuous war and profit was promoted in the maps published by Visscher and others in the first half of the century. The quality and advertising of Visscher's and others' maps that projected Dutch victories at home and abroad suggest how the ideal of the unity of a nation supported the requisite unity of mercantilist and militarist hegemony.

The assumed inevitability of capitalism's triumph and corresponding globalization fails to recognize how political power, money, and visual media intersect. Extremely troubling is just how strong the connection of visual culture and its links to money and power continue to be strengthened in the United States as the hegemon tries to maintain its power at the top of the world system politically and militarily. The US Supreme Court has ruled in favor of unlimited corporate contributions to create advertisements or other political tools in favor of or opposed to particular political candidates (*Citizens United vs. Federal Election Commission*, 2010). As I write this in April 2014, the court ruled that there can be no cap to the amount of money an individual can contribute overall to political campaigns and politicians, although there is still a limit to the amount any one political candidate may receive (*McCutcheon vs. Federal Election Commission*, 2014). Individual and corporate wealth is more closely allied to political power in the US than ever before, minimizing the opportunities for non-wealthy voices to participate equally in the political system to attempt to change economic systems and conditions. This too, has spatial ramifications. In cities around the world class diversity is quickly being eradicated from urban communi-

ties under the aegis of “gentrification.” From San Francisco to Manhattan, increasing rents and upscale development incentives in place by municipal governments continue to push those with less wealth outside of the commercial center. Perhaps most worrisome is how then money, power, and the media are able to obscure real violence. The US has been at war officially since 2001; the need to assert economic hegemony, to have constant growth and consumer wealth and spending fund other military projects, and to maintain wealth and possessions seems to be the mainstream message, rather than a message that critiques how the system’s inherent inequality itself begets violence.

Clearly this is not just a question of power and media, but one of systems and epistemes. Assuming that capitalism is the only way, and promoting wealth growth at all costs by exploiting consumers, laborers, and the environment—and creating vast local, regional, and global wealth inequality—has huge risks. Bubbles burst, as we have already witnessed, not only in 2008, but also in the indexical years that Wallerstein has marked as revolutionary in affecting hegemonic power. In other words, the system continues to cycle through worldwide fallout from the correlations between economic and political instability as those who control capital seek to hold on to it by often violent and inhumane means. As Wallerstein remarks:

Hegemony creates the kind of stability within which capitalist enterprises, especially monopolistic leading industries, thrive. Hegemony is popular with ordinary people in that it seems to guarantee not merely order but a more prosperous future for all . . . [but] to maintain hegemony, the hegemonic power must divert itself into a political and military role, which is both expensive and abrasive. Sooner or later, usually sooner, other states begin to improve their economic efficiencies to the point where the hegemonic power’s superiority is considerably diminished, and eventually disappears. With that goes political clout. And it is now forced to actually use its military power . . . its use of military power is not only the first sign of weakness but the source of further decline.⁴

The ever-widening wealth gap among the world’s nations, and within the United States, seems to chart a course toward mass alienation that may have violent consequences when poverty, frustration from disenfranchisement, and desperation take hold rather than hope, trust, and feeling empowered and connected to social and economic production. So long as banks extend credit and marketers trick consumers into feeling they have power because they have things, and so long as political power is so tightly connected to

economic power, real political agency is obscured, and the violence that we who are privileged do to others is hidden. This book may not attempt to solve these myriad problems, but it does provide a historical analogy and critique. It is my hope that this study will have provided new insight into the long and problematic tradition of how money and power is allied in visual news propaganda, effectively obfuscating real violence and multiple narratives. Unity is a chimera; solidarity toward equality and multivocality may not be.

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Truly, this has been a collaborative effort. Perhaps the initial impetus for the project derived from the interest in maps I developed during my dissertation research. The realization of this project was a natural extension of the dissertation and first book. Fundamental to my approach in interpreting these maps was the influence of my family and the events in my life that have shaped and continue to shape how I view and choose to act within the world. I discussed contemporary events and my concerns about them with my twin brother, and these conversations helped me think about the many connections between news maps published four hundred years ago and contemporary militarism, commercialism, and news. My older brother, an urban planner, also helped me think about the myriad ways maps can be and are used. My mother's profession as an attorney in the Field Solicitor's Office of the United States certainly affected my sense of justice, my concern for land use, indigenous peoples, and the role of government. My father's constant revisiting of Virgil, Cicero, Lucretius, and Seneca helped shape my sense of morality, understanding of humanism, and general love of learning. These influences are manifest in the threads that form the basis of my interpretation of the maps in the preceding pages.

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NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Brettell, *Modern Art, 1851–1928*, 84.
2. Immanuel Wallerstein has written extensively on his theory of integrated economies in what he calls the world system. See Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, esp. vol. 2, *Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600–1750*.
3. Tilly, "Warmaking and Statemaking as Organized Crime," 1–29.
4. For a sketch of the WIC's economic activities in the seventeenth century, see, for example, de Vries and van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 398–402. The classic history of Dutch overseas trade is still Israel, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740*. See also Emmer's collection of essays in *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy, 1580–1880*; and Klooster, "The West India Company's Grand Scheme," 58–70. On WIC activities in West Africa, see Ribeiro da Silva, *Dutch and Portuguese in Western Africa*.
5. On his landscape prints and unity, see esp. Onuf, "Envisioning Netherlandish Unity: Claes Visscher's 1612 Copies of the Small Landscape Prints."
6. See esp. Coclanis, ed., *The Atlantic Economy During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*; Emmer, "The West India Company, 1621–1791: Dutch or Atlantic?," 71–95; Schmidt, "The Dutch Atlantic," 163–90; Bakker, "Emporium or Empire?," 31–43; Klooster, "The West India Company's Grand Scheme," 58–70.
7. Quoted from Michael Doyle in Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty, and the Making of International Law*, 11.
8. Suriname was conquered by Zeelander Abraham Crijnsen in 1667, and passed into Dutch ownership under the Treaty of Breda. It was initially administered by the States of Zeeland, then the WIC, and after 1682, the Chartered Society of Suriname (*Geotroyeerde Societeit van Suriname*). The society came into existence after the city of Amsterdam and Cornelis van Aerssens van Sommelsdijck each purchased a third, leaving one-third to the WIC, to whom the States of Zeeland had sold Suriname for 260,000 florins. Van Lier, *Frontier Society*, 19.
9. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, 132.
10. Giddens, *The Constitution of Society*, 26.
11. *Ibid.*, 16–25.
12. Bourdieu, *In Other Words*, 135.
13. Giddens, *Politics, Sociology, and Social Theory*, 72, 49, 16. Weber's 1891 thesis was on

- land tenure in ancient Rome. On Marx, property, and Roman law, see Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, vol. 2, *The Nation-State and Violence*, 68.
14. Giddens, *The Constitution of Society*, 258–62.
 15. *Ibid.*, 258.
 16. Adapted from *ibid.*, 258.
 17. *Ibid.*, 261–62.
 18. *Ibid.*, 262.
 19. Giddens, *Politics, Sociology, and Social Theory*, 45.
 20. Stephen Kalberg summarizes Weber's distinction between "traditional" and "modern" capitalism as "the distinction between 'capitalism' and 'modern capitalism' stands at the foundation of Weber's entire analysis. . . . Capitalism, as involving the exchange of goods and calculations for profit and loss balances in terms of money, has existed in civilizations in all corners of the globe, from ancient times to present . . . [whereas 'modern capitalism' is] a relatively free exchange of goods in markets, the separation of business activity from household activity, sophisticated bookkeeping methods, and the *rational, or systematic, organization* of work and the workplace in general. . . . Profit is pursued in a regular and continuous fashion, as is the maximization of profit in organized, productive business." Kalberg, "Introduction to the Translation," in *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, xvii–xviii.
 21. Kalberg, "Introduction," xviii.
 22. Marx notes, "In order that these objects may enter into relation with each other as commodities, their guardians must place themselves in relation to one another, as persons whose will resides in those objects, and must behave in such a way that each does not appropriate the commodity of the other, and part with his own, except by means of an act done by mutual consent. They must therefore, mutually recognize in each other the rights of private proprietors. This juridical relation, which thus expresses itself in a contract, whether such contract be part of a developed legal system or not, is a relation between two wills, and is but the reflex of the real economic relation between the two. It is this economic relation that determines the subject-matter comprised in each such juridical act." From chap. 2 in Marx, *Capital*, trans. Samuel Moore and Edward Aveling, 59.
 23. See also Bourdieu, *Distinction*.
 24. Foucault, *The Order of Things*; Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*; Giddens, *The Constitution of Society*.
 25. Harvey, "Cartographic Identities," 220.
 26. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 173.
 27. *Ibid.*, 175.
 28. Funnell and Robertson define "scientific" accounting as "an accounting system where the data is grounded in positive (empirically verifiable) monetary values . . . because these values are homogeneous, the capital accounting process can be reduced to the mathematical formula: Assets = Liabilities + Owners' Equity." Funnell and Robertson, "Capitalist Accounting in Sixteenth-Century Holland," 579n2.
 29. Stevin, *Verechting van domeinen, ende vorstlicke bouckhouding op de Italiensche wyse*. See Funnell and Robertson, "Capitalist Accounting in Sixteenth-Century Holland," 560–86, esp. 577–78. See also Robertson and Funnell, *Accounting by the First Public Company*, 53–75, 105–35.
 30. Robertson and Funnell, "The Dutch East-India Company and Accounting for Social

- Capital at the Dawn of Modern Capitalism 1602–1623,” 347–56; Robertson and Funnell, *Accounting by the First Public Company*, 15–20, 136–66.
31. Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence*, 214.
32. “Money-form attaches itself either to the most important articles of exchange from outside, and these in fact are primitive and natural forms in which the exchange-value of home products finds expression. . . . Man has often made man himself, under the form of slaves, serve as the primitive material of money, but has never used land for that purpose. Such an idea could only spring up in a bourgeois society already well developed. It dates from the last third of the 17th century, and the first attempt to put it in practice on a national scale was made a century afterwards, during the French bourgeois revolution.” From chap. 2 in Marx, *Capital*, vol. 1, p. 61.
33. Robertson and Funnell, *Accounting by the First Public Company*, 21.
34. Benton, “Possessing Empire,” 21. See also Schmidt for his discussion of Pieter Stuyvesant specifically seeking maps to support Dutch claims to first possession of the area of New Netherland. Schmidt, “Mapping and Empire,” 551.
35. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*, 98.
36. Anghie, *Imperialism, Sovereignty and the Making of International Law*, 4–6.
37. Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, vol. 2, *Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600–1750*; Cosgrove, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*; Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*; Mukerji, *From Graven Images*; Brückner, “Introduction: The Plurality of Early American Cartography,” in *Early American Cartographies*; Edney, “The Irony of Imperial Mapping,” in *The Imperial Map*.
38. Edney, “The Irony of Imperial Mapping,” 40.
39. Edney, 45. Brückner points out that the very word “cartography” is a nineteenth-century neologism, coined to accommodate the standardization of institutionalized and professionalized mapping. Brückner, “Introduction: The Plurality of Early American Cartography,” 5–6.
40. See also Benton, “Possessing Empire,” 31.
41. Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 3.
42. *Ibid.*, 3.
43. Schmidt, “The Dutch Atlantic,” 164, 166, 179.
44. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*; see also Zandvliet, “Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth Century,” in *The History of Cartography*, vol. 3, pt. 2, 1433–62.
45. Broomer and den Heijer, *Grote Atlas van de WIC*.
46. Kain, “Maps and Rural Land Management in Early Modern Europe,” in *The History of Cartography: Cartography in the European Renaissance*, 716. See also Kain and Baigent, *The Cadastral Map in the Service of the State*.
47. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*.
48. Kester, *The One and the Many*, 176.
49. Scott suggests that the most tragic episodes of state-initiated social engineering originated in a combination of elements which included the following: the administrative ordering of nature and society; high-modernist ideology, or just ideology in general that borrows the legitimacy of science and technology to rationalize its plans but that is uncritical, and unskeptical, and thus unscientifically optimistic; and the willingness of the state to use its coercive power to bring these high-modernist designs into being. Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 4.
50. Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 6.
51. See for example, Good Old Lower Eastside (<http://www.goles.org>); Association for

Neighborhood and Housing Development (<http://www.anhd.org>); and in Brooklyn, the Fifth Avenue Committee (<http://www.fifthave.org>).

52. Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox*.
53. See the recent anthologies edited by James Elkins and Jonathan Harris, respectively. Elkins et al., *Art and Globalization, Stone Art Theory Institutes*; Harris, ed., *Globalization and Contemporary Art*. See also Jameson, "Preface" and "Notes on Globalization as a Philosophical Issue," xi–xvii, 54–77; and Mignolo, "Globalization, Civilization Processes, and the Relocation of Languages and Cultures," 32–53.

CHAPTER 2

1. The reference is to maps or manuscripts about Hertogenbosch: "*Pro chartis Silvaeducensibus gratias habeo maximas. . . . Caeterum spero nec mihi nec publico inutiles fore.*" Barlaeus had written to Grotius on July 10th, 1631, indicating that he was including "a short little history, or journals of the events that happened around Hertogenbosch" written by d'Aubremont of the Grobbendonck family, whose relative sent them to Barlaeus to send to Grotius "if by chance you [Grotius] intend to write something about the history of the siege" and requesting that the author's identity to remain anonymous. Moolhuysen et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Hugo Grotius*, <http://grotius.huygens.knaw.nl/>. Full transcript of the letters are published online: <http://grotius.huygens.knaw.nl/letters/1668/receiver/bar1001/> and <http://grotius.huygens.knaw.nl/letters/1659/sender/bar1001/>. Thanks to Jonathan Sutton for the translation from Latin into English.
2. Maps of the siege of 's Hertogenbosch published by Jodocus Hondius, with the consent of the Count of Nassau ("*Jodocus Hondius sal in de toecomende weecke laten uytgaen de belegeringe van 'sHertogenbos/ naert leven afgemeten en ghetekent/ met consent van syn Genade Grave Ernst Casimir van Nassau/ Door Cornelis Florisz van Berckenrode ende int Cooper gesneden door Balthasar Florisz van Berckenrode*"), were advertised in Broer Jansz and Jan van Hilten's news corantos on May 19 and May 29, 1629, respectively, and a ten-plate map of the siege by Henricus Hondius was advertised by Hilten on March 30, 1630. See van der Krogt, *Advertenties voor kaarten, atlassen, globes in Amsterdamse kranten, 1621–1811*, 4 (A10–A11, A13).
3. Henricus Hondius II (1597–1651), of Amsterdam, son of Jodocus Hondius, was the brother-in-law of Jan Janssonius. He is often confused with Hendrick Hondius from The Hague (1573–1650). Hendrick Hondius of The Hague also published multiple broadsides of the siege of 's Hertogenbosch. On Hendrick Hondius's multiple broadsides of the siege, see Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius and the Business of Prints in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 54–55, 153–26.
4. In the example of the map in the University of Amsterdam's map room, the plan, view of the city, and vignette of wind and wheel mills used to cut off the city are etched in two sheets. These were accompanied by printed text in Dutch on the left, and French on the right. Visscher's name and address appears on the second state, covering what had been Jodocus Hondius's address and name. The inset on the bottom right describes the use of the wind and water mill and the dikes built along the Dommel River that contributed to Dutch victory. See also Schuckman, *Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700*, vols. 38–39, *Claes Jansz Visscher to Claes Claesz Visscher II*, cat. nos. 65–66.
5. For a detailed description of the complex organization of government and corporate relationships, see Adams, "Trading States, Trading Places," 319–55.

6. See esp. Alexander Bick on the significance of meetings for the organization of social experience in "Governing the Free Sea."
7. Adams, "Trading States, Trading Places," 327.
8. Chong, "The Market for Landscape Painting in Seventeenth-Century Holland," 104–20.
9. Searching Grotius's correspondence for the terms *caert*, *caerten*, and *chartis* registers 136 letters with *chartis*, fourteen with *caerten*, and four referencing *caert*. Most are references indicating receipt of various maps sent. Many references are in letters to and from his son Willem. Moolhuysen et al., eds., *The Correspondence of Hugo Grotius*. <http://grotius.huygens.knaw.nl/>.
10. Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth Century," 1458–59.
11. Reproduced in van den Boogaart and DuParc, *Zo wijd de wereld strekt*, 164.
12. The scholar at his desk with maps and globes around him is something of a trope in seventeenth-century Dutch painting, where many artists, Vermeer included, showed scholars in Japanese robes bent over maps or with globes and other paraphernalia to symbolize the scope of their knowledge. Svetlana Alpers discussed the role of artist with respect to the map of the Netherlands by Visscher in Johannes Vermeer's *Allegory of Painting*. According to Alpers, Vermeer affirms his role as describer of the world by placing his signature on the rendering of the map in the painting. By claiming the map, which was "in size, scope, and graphic ambition . . . a summa of the mapping art of the day," Vermeer asserted his own painting as a kind of summa of painting, and painting itself as the ultimate descriptive art, enfolding the map and city views surrounding it into his own representation of them. Alpers, *The Art of Describing*, 122. Vermeer's *Astronomer* and *Geographer* are two well-known examples. Hollander, "Vermeer's Robe," 177–95.
13. Reproduced in van den Boogaart and DuParc, *Zo wijd de wereld strekt*, 161.
14. Multi-sheet wall maps at the time could command prices comparable to or sometimes even higher than those of paintings. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 169, 212. See also van Groesen, "Lessons Learned," 184.
15. "*Nolit tamen amicus iste meus publice sciri autorem eius scripti esse Oppermontium.*" Letter 10th July, 1631, from Barlaeus to Grotius. <http://grotius.huygens.knaw.nl/letters/1659/sender/bar1001/>.
16. Van Groesen, "A Week to Remember," 37–41; and van Groesen, "Lessons Learned," 180.
17. <http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php>.
18. Pieter van den Keere's 1623 inventory (Montias inventory# 6060, GA call number NA 713, fol. 66); Symon Thonisz's 1635 inventory (Montias# 653, GA call number WK 5073/916); Van Ceulen 1631 inventory (Montias# 1259, GA call number NA 991, fol. 36); Van Ceulen 1644 inventory (Montias# 165, GA call number NA 1598, film 1691, fol. 161–77).
19. Lodewijk Bas was a beer brewer. A map in the entry hall is listed in the inventory from March 17, 1654 (Montias inventory #303. GA call number NA 1915, fol. 80–87). Grain merchant Hans Willemsz Elbinck lived on the Herengracht and had two large maps in the front room in 1656 (Montias inventory #516, GA call number 2800, fol. 55). Barber-surgeon Dirck Thomasz Molengraeff also owned two maps in 1654 (Montias inventory #317 GA call number 1915 fol. 1–45). Catharina Valkeniers, widow of bookseller Jan Commelijn, had a large map in her front room in

- 1621, and had sold a map for fourteen stuivers (Montias inventory #1144, GA call number WK 5073/968).
20. Nicolaes Visscher II's *fondlijst* (price list) is reprinted in van der Waals, *Prenten in de gouden eeuw*, 219–29, along with six other inventory lists of print publishers from the seventeenth century. Cornelis Claesz's 1610 auction catalog is extant at the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, and on microfiche at the University of Amsterdam. Maps and atlases from Visscher II's list are also printed, without prices, in Koeman, ed., *Atlantes Neerlandici: Merula-Zeegers*, vol. 3, pp. 156–58.
 21. Orlers's catalog lists under "Kunst ende Kaerten" "*en boeck vol verscheyden caerten*" and "*Verscheyde caerte*." See *Catalogus van verscheyde raer boucken, naer-gelaten by den Heer Jan Jansz Orlers . . . welcke by openbare op-veylinge verkoft sullen werden op den 3 Jan. 1646, ten huysse van Frans Hackes* (Leiden: Frans Hackes, 1646). Microfiche, Leiden University.
 22. Appendix 5, in van der Waals, *Prenten in de gouden eeuw*, 220–21.
 23. For transcriptions of advertisements in these papers pertaining to maps, globes, and atlases, see van der Krogt, *Advertenties voor kaarten*, 1–13.
 24. Van Groesen, "A Week to Remember," 38.
 25. In 1624, Broer Jansz advertised Visscher's WIC-authorized maps of the conquest of San Salvador de Bahía, and a map of the siege of Breda (van der Krogt, A5–A6); in 1625 he advertised an updated castral map of Breda by Visscher (A9); Broer Jansz advertised military maps by Visscher again in 1630, 1637, and 1638 (A14, A36, A45). The last maps by Visscher he advertised were of the Holy Land, in 1643 (A67). Hilten advertised Visscher's map of the siege of Breda also in 1624 (A7), and Visscher's map of the siege of Maastricht, under privilege, in 1633 (A18); a map of Brabant in 1635 (A24); Visscher's map of the siege of Schenkenschans in 1635 (A28); his map of the siege of Brisach in 1638 (A46); Admiral Tromp's ship battle at Duyns in seven sheets in 1640; plans of southern Netherlandish cities (Waes, Hulst) and a castral plan of Gelder after the Prince of Orange's *legermeter* (castral surveyor) in 1640 (A51, A54, A55); the five biblical maps in 1643 (A68); and Visscher's map of Flanders in two sheets and the siege of Hulst in 1645 (A75, A77), and in 1648, Hilten's advertisement of Visscher's map of Pernambuco with Mauritsstad and Recife (A82).
 26. These included the WIC-authorized maps from 1624, the map with privilege of the siege of Maastricht in 1633, and the castral plan of Gelder from 1640.
 27. Orenstein et al., "Print Publishers in the Netherlands, 1580–1620," 195.
 28. Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, 151; Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations*, 25–43.
 29. De Vries and van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 399.
 30. Combining information was essentially a process innovation resulting in a product innovation because it saved the publisher some production costs. See esp. Montias, "The Influence of Economic Factors on Style," 51–52; and Montias, "Cost and Value in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art," 456. On Claesz and Hondius in the early seventeenth century, see Sutton, *Early Modern Dutch Prints of Africa*, 29–39, 161–68, 175–84.
 31. The Vingboons and Blaeu families maintained a close business relationship, especially between Willem's son Joan and David's sons Johannes, Pieter, and Philips. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 125–26. See also Orenstein et al., "Print Publishers in the Netherlands, 1580–1620," 190.
 32. Orenstein et al., "Print Publishers in the Netherlands, 1580–1620," 191; Schilder and Welu, *The World Map by Peter van den Keere 1611*.

33. For more on Visscher's forays into landscape see Onuf, "Envisioning Netherlandish Unity," and Levesque, *Journey through Landscape in Seventeenth-Century Holland*.
34. Orenstein et al., "Print Publishers in the Netherlands, 1580–1620," 192.
35. These include prints surrounding the 1618–19 Arminian–Gomarist controversy and subsequent executions, as well as international events such as the gunpowder plot in London and assassination of Henry IV of France. See for example Schuckman, *Claes Jansz Visscher*, cat. nos. 17–18, 22, 25–26, 28–35, 45–49.
36. Orenstein, et. al., "Print Publishers in the Netherlands, 1580–1620," 189.
37. Hoeksema, *Designed for Dry Feet*, 37. For the roles various types of windmills played in the development of industry in the Netherlands, see de Vries and van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 344–47. For more on the *Duytsche Mathematique* and mapping see esp. Koeman and van Egmond, "Surveying and Official Mapping in the Low Countries," 1285–1288; and Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas," 1434–65.
38. After 1649, the treatise probably also circulated among sovereigns, politicians, and political elites throughout Europe. Nijenhuis, "Stevin's Grid City and the *Maurice Conspiracy*," 52.
39. See also van den Heuvel, "*De Huysbou*," 54–57, 61–62.
40. Nijenhuis, "Stevin's Grid City and the *Maurice Conspiracy*," 52–55.
41. *Ibid.*, 48–50.
42. See for example, the situation of the president of the council in Brazil, outlined by Bick. He shows that in 1645, the States General and Company either could not agree on or find members of the magistracy interested in colonial administration. Bick, "Governing the Free Sea," 131–71.
43. Nijenhuis, "Stevin's Grid City and the *Maurice Conspiracy*," 55.
44. Stevin's *Castrametatio* provides printed diagrams of how military camps should be designed based on Greco-Roman precedent. Generally, the plan is rectangular, with the prince's quarters at center, surrounded by those of other officers, with the outermost ring devoted to the cavalry. Simon Stevin, *Castrametation*, 44–45. Stevin also wrote a treatise, *Vande Molens* (ca. 1588), and developed water mills and sluices for Delft. Van den Heuvel, "*De Huysbou*," 12.
45. Oers, *Dutch Town Planning Overseas*, 81–84.
46. Nijenhuis, "Stevin's Grid City and the *Maurice Conspiracy*," 58–59.
47. Van den Heuvel, "*De Huysbou*," 12, 17.
48. Ironically, the desire for unity is why Prince Maurits initially persecuted Oldenbarnevelt and others—he was afraid of religious divisiveness as well as Holland's local militias. In this respect, Maurits exerted coercive force exemplary of what Charles Tilly outlined in "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." Maurits sought to consolidate and control all mechanisms of violence, in order to preserve the unity of the nation. He thought Oldenbarnevelt and his supporters (including Grotius, Gilles van Ledenberg, Rombout Hogerbeets, and Jacob de Graeff) threatened this unity (and his authority) by supporting local militias and by making foreign diplomatic overtures. The social unrest resulting from the religious conflict at the Synod of Dort had prompted the regents of the States of Holland, via the "Sharp Resolution," to allow local authorities in cities to recruit their own companies of mercenaries, called *waardgelders*, to maintain order.
49. For more on the development of Grotius's definition of property from *De jure praedae* see Tully, *A Discourse on Property*, 68–70. Also Buckle, *Natural Law and the Theory of Property*, 35–51.

50. See esp. chap. 3, "Wise Merchants," in Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age*, 141–203.
51. Quoted in Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, 230.
52. Van Groesen, "A Week to Remember," 27–28, 31. For example, Grotius's wife wrote of good news from the West Indies to her exiled husband on August 26, 1624, the same day it reached the States General in The Hague, but noted it had not been officially confirmed, and schoolmaster David Beck had already heard about the conquest in conversations after church as early as the 25th, three days before news of the conquest was published. For a transcript of Maria van Reigersberch's letter, see <http://grotius.huygens.knaw.nl/letters/0918/>.
53. For a comprehensive history of the Dutch Republic from the revolt to the recognition of its independence in 1648, see Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*.
54. De Vries and van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 589–90.
55. *Ibid.*, 587–88, 593.
56. *Ibid.*, 563–64.
57. *Ibid.*, 564.
58. *Ibid.*, 561–64. For more on de Vries and van der Woude's analyses of tax records, see 566–86.
59. *Ibid.*, 592, with table.
60. *Ibid.*, 29–32; table of reclamation projects 1540–1815, p. 32.

CHAPTER 3

1. "*Civium animos amore mutuo colliga, et dissidiorum omnium causas longe ab hisce moenibus abesse jube. Da, ut mercuriales hactenus, jam sapientiae candidati audiant, parci, sed cum elegantia, pecuniae studiosi, sed sine detrimento melioris studii, hoc est, artium et virtutis.*" In van der Woude, ed., *C. Barlaeus, Mercator sapiens*, 24–25.
2. The Wisselbank was a regulatory institution that controlled the conditions for how money could be exchanged. In contrast, the Bourse was a place of speculation and credit. See de Vries and van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 83–84; and Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 346–47.
3. "*In alle waren te vercoopen ende coopen wort ghebruyckt een wonderlycke bilckheyt ende gherechticheyt, waer door de Uutheemsche Cooplieden dickmaels beweeght worden tot Amsterdam, ghelijck tot een Keyserlijke handthaeft der gherechticheyt, te comen.*" Quoted from Visscher in Bakker, "Het imago van de stad: Zelfportret als propaganda" in Bakker and Schmitz, eds. *Het aanzien van Amsterdam*, 70. The poem accompanying the bourse portrait in the 1611 profile ends with the line: "*Die de Beurs heeft, heeft dickwil 't gheldt verloren!*"
4. See the 1682 price list of Nicolaes Visscher II in van der Waals, *Prenten in de gouden eeuw*, 219–29.
5. See Bakker and Schmitz, eds. *Het aanzien van Amsterdam*, and in that catalog, Abrahamse, "De Ruimtelijke ontwikkeling van Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw en de opkomst van de stedenbouw als wetenschap," 24–41. Also Abrahamse, *De grote uitleg van Amsterdam*. See also Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange*; and Lesger, "Merchants in Charge," 75–97. For the development of agriculture and the Dutch economy, see esp. de Vries and van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 195–234.
6. Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production*.
7. Grotius makes the argument for legal acquisition of war booty in *De jure belli ac pa-*

- cis (1625), discussed in chap. 4. See also Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 238–39. “Immoral” war was what kings and princes engaged in because of dynastic ambition; “moral” war was fought in defense of freedom and property.
8. For a summary, see for example Giddens, *Politics, Sociology, and Social Theory*, esp. pp.15–77.
 9. For images of the Visscher’s maps of the seventeen provinces combined and individually, see Schuckman, *Claes Jansz Visscher to Claes Claesz Visscher II*, cat. nos. 212–22 and 232–45.
 10. Bourdieu, *Distinction*.
 11. Kester, *The One and the Many*, 108.
 12. Barlaeus wrote as much in the *Mercator sapiens*. Arthur Weststeijn has recently provided a historical analysis in *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age*.
 13. For example, prints like Claes Jansz Visscher’s lottery at Egmond-op-Zee (1615) show that a desire for things was supposed to support a good cause. The proceeds of this lottery were to help the town build a new almshouse, and the winners would receive all kinds of precious decorative objects. Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 256, 307–9.
 14. “For the De la Courts, private wealth is the result of the mercantile virtue of knowing how to please the demanding yet voluptuous Lady Fortune. Wealth is no sign of corruption but of competence, of *virtù*, and therefore it is to the rich to rule the republic.” Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism in the Dutch Golden Age*, 200.
 15. See esp. Harvey, “The Geography of Capitalist Accumulation,” 240–42.
 16. Orenstein et al., “Print Publishers in the Netherlands 1580–1620,” 191.
 17. On the regulations and rules in the city and Visscher’s maps, see Bakker, “Het imago van de stad,” 69–70.
 18. Visscher continues to describe all the products that can be bought and sold in Amsterdam and whence they came; he discusses the multiple languages spoken in Amsterdam, and the many books, atlases, and other knowledge that can be obtained; he lists artists like Hendrik Goltzius and Karel van Mander, and brags that all can attend public school. See also Bakker, “Het imago van de stad,” 259–60.
 19. See esp. Bakker and Schmitz, *Het aanzien van Amsterdam*, 101–2, 119–20, 143–46, 259–60.
 20. Bakker, “Kaarten, boeken en prenten: De topografische traditie in de noordelijke Nederlanden/ Maps, Books and Prints: The Topographical Tradition in the Northern Netherlands,” 70.
 21. Perhaps the view by Anthoniszoon was a response to Charles V’s impingement on local governance.
 22. For more on the depiction of Amsterdam, see Bakker, “Het imago van de stad,” 56–78.
 23. For an image, see Schuckman, *Claes Jansz Visscher to Claes Claesz Visscher II*, vol. 39, cat. no. 207.
 24. Balthasar Florisz van Berkenrode also depicted the Amsterdam ground plan with a profile view in a cartouche in top left published by Philips Molevliet in 1625—but smaller in cartouche, no corner vignettes. Bakker and Schmitz, eds., *Het aanzien van Amsterdam*, 103–9.
 25. Bakker, “Kaarten, boeken en prenten,” 72–73.
 26. Kettering, “Landscape with Sails,” 68.
 27. Kettering, “Landscape with Sails,” 67–80; and Gibson, *Pleasant Places*.
 28. Kettering, “Landscape with Sails,” 76.

29. Quoted in Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 299.
30. Van den Heuvel notes that the historical polder model can be a metaphor for what he calls the “planned-negotiated space” of the grid, which in its imposition by the Dutch at home and abroad, was characteristically flexible. Van den Heuvel, “Multi-layered Grids and Dutch Town Planning,” 30–31.
31. Fleischer, “The Beemster Polder,” 145.
32. Jacobs, “Dutch Proprietary Manors in America,” 308–9. For more on the nobility of the Netherlands, see van Nierop, *The Nobility of Holland*.
33. Abrahamse, *De grote uitleg van Amsterdam*, 41–42.
34. Correspondingly, the investors wanted to minimize costs of drainage. The windmills chosen by the board were those that were cost-efficient. They wanted a minimum number of mills that would pump the maximum amount of water, and they had seven mill wrights present designs for potential mills to them in November, 1607. Jacob Meuszoon from The Hague and Pieter Janszoon from Hoorn’s design was chosen—it was an adaptation of Jan Leeghwater’s oil mill. They proposed a three-tier milling technique, adding a level to the two-stage pumps Stevin had patented twenty years earlier. Fleischer, “The Beemster Polder,” 155.
35. Schama, *Embarrassment of Riches*, 39. Also, Kain and Baigent, *The Cadastral Map*, 21.
36. Fleischer, “The Beemster Polder,” 153–54.
37. For an overview of surveying and official mapping in the Netherlands, including political and institutional history, see Koeman and van Egmond, “Surveying and Official Mapping in the Low Countries, 1500–ca. 1670,” in *The History of Cartography*, 1246–1295; 1280.
38. Fleischer, “The Beemster Polder,” 146.
39. Fleischer, “The Beemster Polder,” 146.
40. The atlas included forty-three maps of the Netherlands in 1634, and by 1645, the atlas had grown to include sixty-one maps, all Visscher’s own work. Koeman, “Atlas Cartography in the Low Countries,” 89. See also Koeman, ed. *Atlantes Neerlandici: Merula-Zeegers*, vol. 3, 150–58. The only extant copy of the 1634 atlas which I am aware is in the British Library collection, Maps C.25.d.8, collated by Koeman. The Beemster is map number 31, and there is no accompanying text. Pieter van den Keere’s death inventory, discussed in chap. 2, is available online via the Frick’s Montias database <http://research.frick.org/montias/home>.
41. Visscher’s polder maps of Bijlmermeer, Broecker, and Slooter lakes, Heerhugowaard, Purmer, and Schermer are in Shuckman, *Claes Jansz Visscher*, vol. 39, cat. nos. 223–30.
42. See also Levesque, *Journey through Landscape*, 38–39. Free engravings of these “typical employments of Holland” were republished in Iacobus Marci’s *Deliciae Batavae* in 1613. Shuckman, *Claes Jansz Visscher*, cat. nos. 116–23.
43. “Men beghint tot dien eynde Beemster mede te bedijcken.”
44. “Haar voorhoofs torenkroon quam door de wolken dringen: Gelijk gemeenlick weelde in hoogheit wellust schept.” See Fleischer, “The Beemster Polder,” 147n9. For a full Dutch reprint of Vondel’s poem with English translation and commentary, see Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, 107. Fleischer translates the line “Her forehead’s spired crown piercing through the clouds: as communal wealth in its noblest sense creates luxury.” This seems a better meaning for *gemeenlick* but loses the rhyme and rhythm of the Dutch original that Schenkeveld sought to maintain.
45. Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt*, 107.
46. Kain and Baigent, *The Cadastral Map*, 20.

47. Fleischer, "The Beemster Polder," 150.
48. Ibid., 144–66.
49. Ibid., 151.
50. Scriverius, *Beschrijvinge van out Batavien*, 1636; Grotius, *Liber de antiquitate Republicae Batavicae*, 1610.
51. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, 235–43. Orenstein et al., "Print Publishers in the Netherlands," 195.
52. Bakker, *Landscape and Religion*, 241.
53. Udemans is at pains to calm the conscience of merchants, and does so by calling for faith, not doubt. He marshals Romans 14:22–23 and Proverbs 15:15 to make his point. "Siet, dese ende diergelijcke spreucken moeten nootsakelijck *vrome Koop-luyden*, die gevoelige conscientien hebben, in groot achter-dencken ende twijffelinghe brengen, met namen als de ervarentheyt daer by komt van het bedrogh ende argh-liftigheyt, die dagelijcx in de wereltd ommeget, ende soo moeten sy nootsakelijck een van tweeën, of haren *Handel* staken, daer su toe beroepen zijn: of met eene ongeruste, ende *twijffelachtige conscientie* voortgaen, ten zy datse beter onderwesen worden: maer die *twijffelinghe* is seer dangereus, want *al dat uyt den geloove niet en is, dat is sonde*, Rom. 14 vers. 22.23.24 Derhalven soo moet dit gantsche stuck van den *Koop-handel*, nootsakelijck eens ter dege ondersocht, ende oprechtelijck getoetst worden aen het *woordt des Heeren*, ende de *gesonde reddden* der gerechtigheyt, die daer mede over-een komt, of anders en kunnen *vrome Koop-luyden* noyt wandelen met eene stille ende *geruste conscientie*, die daer is als *eene gestadige*, ende vrolijcke *maeltijdt*, Prov. 15.15. Dese totse doen wy in het gantsche Boeck, maer insonderheydt libro I daer wy toonen, dat de *Koopmanschap*, is eene *eerlijcke handelinge*, als die maer gedreven wordt in de gerechtigheyt, ende vrees des Heeren. Udemans, *T Geestelyck roer van 't coopmanschap*, 4.
54. Koeman and van Egmond, "Surveying and Official Mapping in the Low Countries, 1246–1295. See also Kain and Baigent, *The Cadastral Map*, 9–46, esp. pp. 11–23, on polders and dikes.
55. The tax was not reassessed until 1732, which meant that until then, farmers increasingly felt the burden as prices fell while the tax remained the same. Kain and Baigent, *The Cadastral Map*, 30.
56. Commons in the Netherlands often included commonly maintained infrastructure such as dikes, ditches, roads, bridges, and village squares. Until the nineteenth century, commons also included some grazing lands and heath sods. Water was also understood as common for fishing. See esp. Hoppenbrouwers, "The Use and Management of Commons in the Netherlands," 87, 90.
57. Hyde, *Common as Air*, 23–32.
58. See esp. Kain and Baigent, *The Cadastral Map*, 12–13.
59. Koeman and van Egmond, "Surveying and Official Mapping," 1267–68. The Waterlands Archief in Purmerend has an extensive website: <http://waterland.pictura-dp.nl/>.
60. The polder map of Heerhugowaard (*Dykgraaf en Heemraatschap van den Heer Huygenwaert*), printed by Visscher in 1631, was reused into the eighteenth century, as witnessed by the later addition of the coats of arms of the late eighteenth-century dike reeve and polder council members in the copy extant at Leiden University. For more on polder maps, see Koeman and van Egmond, "Surveying and Official Mapping," 1265. The cartouche reads: *Caerte van de Heer-Huygen-Waert, met de omliggende dorpen en huysen, soo die tegenwoordich bedyckt en afgegraven is, . . . anno 1631 . . . aldus*

gecavelt ende gemeten, bij dees ondergheschreven geadmiteerde lantmeters, Anthonis Me-tius, Cornelis Corneliss, Baert Claess, Dirk Verdoes en Thomas Sevenhuysen. Above the cartouche, the coats of arms include eighteenth-century dike reeve Carel de Dieu (1743–89), and council members Johan Baert (1783–95), Gysbert Sevenhuysen, Cornelis van Foreest (1789–92), treasurer Adriaan Baert and secretary Jacob Josias Vryburg. These coats of arms must have been added later, probably around 1789. See Bijlage C in van Gelder, “De bedijking van de Heer Hugowaard (1624–31),” 110–11.

61. Koeman and van Egmond, “Surveying and Official Mapping,” 1268.
62. The *vroonlanden* (domain lands belonging to the counts of Holland) consisted of hundreds of land parcels, leased to many different people, who in turn often had sublease agreements. The surveys carried out between 1529 and 1531 led to defined and fixed boundaries and an increased income for Charles, which heightened animosity toward him. Kain and Baigent, *The Cadastral Map*, 24–25.
63. Fee simple estates contrast to feudal estates, where the fee simple is unencumbered by reciprocal obligations; it defines an estate that holds no obligations of loyalty or service, and can be exclusionary and privately held. Hyde, *Common as Air*, 30. Initial investors argued that the cost of maintenance prevented profit, and so they should be exempt from tax on consumptive goods and excise on cows and horses. The States of Holland granted these exemptions until 1621. Fleischer, “The Beemster Polder,” 164.
64. See also Tully, *A Discourse on Property*, 68–70 and Buckle, *Natural Law and the Theory of Property*, 35–51. See point 17, bk. 2 of Grotius, *The Jurisprudence of Holland*, trans. R. W. Lee, 67.
65. Buckle, *Natural Law and the Theory of Property*, 31.
66. Grotius, *The Jurisprudence of Holland*, trans. Lee, 83.
67. Buckle, *Natural Law and the Theory of Property*, 43, 52.
68. Grotius, *Jurisprudence of Holland*, trans. Lee, 65.
69. *Ibid.*, 67.
70. *Ibid.*, 73, points 49–52.
71. Kester, *The One and the Many*, 107.
72. Tully, *A Discourse on Property*, 69.
73. Grotius, *The Jurisprudence of Holland*, trans. Lee, 75, point 54.
74. *Ibid.*, 439.
75. Van Ittersum, *Profit and Principle*, xix.
76. Van Ittersum, *Profit and Principle*, xxii–xxiii.

CHAPTER 4

1. Van Baerle, *The History of Brazil under the Governorship of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau 1635–1644*, trans. Blanche T. van Berckel-Ebeling Koning, 215–16. Barlaeus here cleverly alludes to Seneca: “*Alium mercandi praeceptis cupiditas circa omnis terras, omnia maria spe lucre ducit.*” (A hasty greed caused by the desire for trade leads a man over all lands and seas in hope of gain.) *Opera quae supersunt* vol. 2, bk. 10 1.2.
2. Van Baerle, *The History of Brazil*, 302. Maurits doubted, however, that the revenues could match the costs.
3. Van Groesen, “Lessons Learned,” 178.
4. Quoted from Article 2 of the original *Octroy*, in Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil 1624–1654*, 8. For a transcription of the charter in Dutch see de Laet, *Jaerlyck Verhael van de Ver-richtingen der Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie*, ed. S.P. L’Honore Naber, vol. 1, pp. 6–31.
5. See van den Boogaart, “Infernal Allies,” 519–38; and Meuwese, “For the Peace and

Well-Being of the Country': Intercultural Mediators and Dutch-Indian Relations in New Netherland and Dutch Brazil 1600–1664," PhD diss. (University of Notre Dame, 2003). Meuwese notes that in Brazil, the Dutch had more motivation to form alliances with Natives (the Tupis, especially) against a common Iberian enemy.

6. Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth Century," 1458–1459.
7. See esp. Brienens, *Visions of Savage Paradise*.
8. For a comprehensive survey of the cartography of the Dutch Atlantic, see esp. Brommer and den Heijer, *Grote Atlas van de WIC*; and Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 164–209. Until the Dutch conquest printed maps of Brazil were mostly coastal outlines and *paskaarten* (navigational maps), such as that published in Johannes de Laet's 1625 *Nieuwe Wereldt, ofte Beschrijvinghe van West-Indien*. A large news map, only extant in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, was published in 1635 by Willem Hondius at The Hague, but this map relied on Visscher's earlier maps of Pernambuco from 1630 and Paraíba from 1634. See Brommer and den Heijer, *Grote Atlas*, 161–63. Hondius's 1635 map is advertised in Jan van Hilten's *Courant*, while neither Blaeu's publication of Barlaeus nor the multi-sheet wall map is known to have been advertised. Van der Krogt, *Advertenties voor kaarten, atlasen, globes in Amsterdamse kranten, 1621–1811*, 6 (A25). With less emphasis on the military aspects of possession, Joan Blaeu's maps, more so than Visscher's, exemplify views that could appeal to a wider European audience. See Schmidt, "The Dutch Atlantic," 179.
9. Golijath's manuscript map is extant in the Austrian national library in Vienna. The advertisement in Jan van Hilten's coranto describes all that the map shows: "By Klaes Jansz Visscher werdt uytgegeven een perfecte Caerte der gheleggheneydt van Olinda de Pharnambuco/ Maurits-stadt ende 't Recif; mitsgaders de Dorpen/ Rivieren/ Hoeven/ Forten ende Suycker-molens/ met hare plantagien ende riet-velden/ als mede de Schantsen ende Retrenchementen der ontrouwe Portugiesen/ in maniere van belegeringen/ gemeten ende getekent door Cornelis Goliad/ Caertemaker van sijn Excell. J. Maurits van Nassau." Van der Krogt, *Advertenties voor kaarten*, 12 (A82).
10. Willem Piso and Georg Marcgraf's *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae*, or Natural History of Brazil (1648), contains ethnographic, zoographic, and botanical information that complements the geographical and historical information presented in the history by Barlaeus. The *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* was overseen by Johannes de Laet. Hoftijzer, "The Library of Johannes De Laet (1581–1649)," 211.
11. The WIC's charter expired in 1645 but was not renewed until 1647 because of disputes among the legislative chambers, confusing accounts, and the East India Company's unwillingness to merge with the insolvent WIC. See Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 175, 187.
12. For a comprehensive discussion of identity construction at mid-century, see Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*.
13. For the 1624 map, see Schuckman, *Claes Jansz Visscher to Claes Claesz Visscher II*, vols. 38–39, cat. no. 51; the 1628 map, cat. no. 64. Visscher also chronicled in an illustrated broadsheet the capture of Jesuit missionaries who were brought from Brazil to Amsterdam in 1624 (cat. no. 52). For Visscher as a WIC propagandist, see van Groesen, "A Week to Remember," 35–36; and van Groesen, "A Brazilian Jesuit in Amsterdam. Anti-Spanish and Anti-Catholic Rhetoric in the Early Dutch Golden Age," 445–70.
14. Newspaper publisher Broer Jansz included an advertisement in his coranto indicating that Claes Jansz Visscher, on behalf of the WIC, would publish two maps of

the Bay of All Saints, along with descriptions of the most memorable events. “*Op Maendach toecomende sal by Claes Iansz Visscher, (ten believe vande Gheoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie,) uytgegeven werden twee Caerten so van de Bay de todos Sanctos als van t’veroveren der Stadt Citado de Salvador, met Beschrijvinghe van tmemorabelste datter ghepasseert is.*” See Dahl, *Dutch Corantos, 1618–1650*, no. 129; see also van Groesen, “A Week to Remember,” 36.

15. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 175; and Koeman et al., “Commercial Cartography and Map Production in the Low Countries, 1500–ca. 1672,” 1296–1383.
16. See de Laet, *Suiker, verfhout & tabak*, ed. Teensma, 17.
17. The engravings in the *Jaerlycke Verhael* include an adaptation of Visscher/Gerritszoon’s 1624 conquest of Bahía, profile views of Recife and Olinda derived from Visscher’s 1630 map, and a ground plan of Paraíba derived from Visscher’s 1634 map of that captaincy. Of course, the engraver (unknown) for de Laet probably had access to Gerritszoon’s maps like Visscher did. The engraver of de Laet’s 1642 portrait was J. G. van Bronckhorst.
18. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 175–76.
19. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. On nationalism in prints, see, for example, Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, 72–93; and Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, 519–24.
20. Lauren Benton has carefully nuanced the idea that Europeans routinely applied Roman law to colonial territories. See Benton “Possessing Empire,” 22; Benton and Straumann, “Acquiring Empire by Law: From Roman Doctrine to Early Modern European Practice,” 1–38. Van den Heuvel suggests that *flexibility* was integral to WIC and VOC plans for colonial cities. Van den Heuvel, “Multilayered Grids and Dutch Town Planning,” 27–44.
21. Patricia Seed suggests maps were of particular importance for Dutch claims to land. Benton marks maps as useful to make “better” claims to possession. Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640*, 6, 172–73; Benton, “Possessing Empire,” 21.
22. In 1623 the WIC reached capitalization at seven million guilders, one million guilders of which was provided by the States General—five hundred thousand in shares, the other half straight subsidy. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson*, 64–65.
23. Quoted in Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 15 from the “Advis” of 12 Sept. 1622 in *Kron. Hist. Gen. Utrecht*, xxvii, 237.
24. Van Groesen, “A Week to Remember,” 26–36.
25. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 25.
26. Van Groesen, “Lessons Learned,” 184–85.
27. For more on the development of the idea of “nation” as pictured in the early modern period, see, for example, Farago, “‘Vision Itself Has Its History’: ‘Race,’ Nation, and Renaissance Art History,” 67–88.
28. Geelkerken adapted his version from Theodore de Bry’s *America* series.
29. For comprehensive scholarship on Johan Maurits, see van den Boogaart, Hoetink, and Whitehead, eds., *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen, 1604–1679*.
30. Within a month of his arrival, Maurits conquered Porto Calvo, which had been the central base of Portuguese guerillas since the 1630 conquest at Olinda. He began the construction of Fort Maurits at the fluvial border between the captaincies of Bahía and Pernambuco, about eighty miles south of Recife. By 1637, Maurits and his men had also occupied the northern captaincy of Ceará, and sent ships to West Africa to

conquer the Portuguese forts Elmina and Loanda, the most important for slaving. They were captured in 1637 and 1641, respectively.

31. Preface in van Baerle, *The History of Brazil*, xx.
32. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 67–68.
33. Ibid., 70.
34. Ibid., 74.
35. Hefting, “High versus Low.”
36. It is entirely possible that Pieter Post, Frans’s older brother, was responsible for the ideal symmetry and ordered design of Mauritsstad. Terwen suggests that the town is similar to the plan for Haarlem, which Post was commissioned to design in 1642. See Terwen, “The Buildings of Johan Maurits,” 88. For commentary on the possibility of Pieter as an architectural draftsman in Brazil, see also Joppien, “The Dutch Vision of Brazil,” 300n18.
37. Van Oers has strongly suggested Stevin’s influence on Mauritsstad, although the claim has been tempered by van den Heuvel, who cautions against uniformly applying Stevin’s designs for ideal cities to Dutch colonies. See van Oers, *Dutch Town Planning Overseas During VOC and WIC Rule (1600–1800)*, 11, 78–90; and van den Heuvel, “Multilayered Grids and Dutch Town Planning,” 29.
38. Oers, *Dutch Town Planning Overseas*, 33–34.
39. Ibid., 86.
40. After free trade was established for settlers in 1638, imports and exports from Brazil had to be declared, inspected, weighed, and registered by the Company’s agents in order for the private traders to pay customs dues, freight, and anchorage and wharf fees. A 10-percent duty to private merchants was levied on all imports, and 20 percent on all exports, with an additional half-stuiver tax on each pound of sugar. Boxer, *Dutch in Brazil*, 82.
41. Oers, *Dutch Town Planning Overseas*, 88.
42. A copy of the manuscript chart by Gerard van Keulen is extant at the University of Leiden, Bodel Nijenhuis Collection. See also van den Boogaart and DuParc, *Zo wijdt de wereld strekt*, 102.
43. Quoted in van den Heuvel, “*De Huysbou*,” 351.
44. Amsterdam had long been identified in printed maps as an emporium, or “staple-town.” See Bakker, “Emporium or Empire? Printed Metaphors of a Merchant Metropolis,” 40–41.
45. Correia de Andrade, “The Socio-Economic Geography of Dutch Brazil,” 267.
46. Van Baerle, *The History of Brazil*, 302.
47. See also Spenlé, “‘Savagery’ and ‘Civilization’: Dutch Brazil in the Kunst- and Wunderkammer.”
48. Meuwese notes that many Tupis learned Dutch well enough to write letters to the *Heren XIX* and even travel to The Hague to argue their interests. Meuwese, “‘For the Peace and Well-Being of the Country,’” 71, 162.
49. On this map, see Storms, “De kaart van Nederlandse-Brazilië door Georg Marcgraf,” 37–46.
50. “From the remnants of Olinda, like a rejected mother, rose the daughter city of Mauritopolis, although there was no resemblance between them.” Van Baerle, *The History of Brazil*, 145.
51. Van Baerle, *The History of Brazil*, 140, 143. “Rome had its builders, farmers who conquered the world, some of whom lived in great houses and tilled their field, while

other spent their lives in army camps and forts. . . . The magnificence of these buildings creates an impression of power for one's own citizens, for foreigners, and certainly for one's enemy. . . . It is remarkable how these building activities shook the confidence of the Portuguese, while increasing that of our people. In their opinion it reflected the positive status of our government, which the Count had strengthened by spending his own money."

52. Correia de Andrade, "The Socio-Economic Geography of Dutch Brazil," 258, 263–65.
53. The scene is dated January 12, 1640, the first day of the battle off Itamaracá. Claes Jansz Visscher had published a topographical map of Paraíba in 1634, detailing Portuguese defenses.
54. The emphasis on the process and the machine, rather than the slaves' manual labor is discussed specifically by Kolfin in *Van de slavenzweep & de muze*, 37–38. See also Massing, "From Dutch Brazil to the West Indies," 275–88.
55. Julie Hochstrasser notes that Post's drawing and his later paintings are visually and emotionally distanced from the sugar processing. Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age*, 195–96.
56. Van Baerle, *The History of Brazil*, 208, 215. Baerle describes the details of the two-month-long trip, 207–16.
57. Van Baerle, *The History of Brazil*, 122. "*Illud ad magnitudinem imperii hujus fecerit, si seria deliberatione expendent Societatis primores, quibus artibus pellici huc coloni possint & per terrarum deserta ac nondum culta spargi.*" Barlaeus, *Rerum per Octennium in Brasilia* Barlaeus, (1647), 124.
58. Van Baerle, *The History of Brazil*, 213, 215–16.
59. For more on the coat of arms on Dutch maps as signifiers of land possession, see esp. Clarke, "Taking Possession," 464. In the *Atlas Maior*, 115 maps bear dedications to prominent Dutch political figures. The dedication from the author or publisher, usually an encomium in Latin, would be sent with the map to the dedicatee in hopes of financial reward, thus assisting the publisher with the costs of production.
60. Grotius set a foundation for divisible sovereignty, which was crucial to his understanding of property rights and juridical rule in the Netherlands and abroad. See esp. Keene, *Beyond the Anarchical Society*, 3–5, 49–51; see also Tuck's introduction in Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace by Hugo Grotius*, ed. Tuck, bk. 1, pp. xxviii–xxx.
61. For Grotius's relationship with the VOC, see esp. van Ittersum, *Profit and Principle*.
62. Keene, *Beyond the Anarchical Society*, 49–51.
63. Quoted in Pagden, "Law, Colonization, Legitimation, and the European Background," 18.
64. Pieter Stuyvesant specifically sought maps to support Dutch claims to first possession of the area of New Netherland, for example. See Schmidt, "Mapping an Empire," 551.
65. Benton, *A Search for Sovereignty*, 25, 27.
66. Grotius, *Jurisprudence of Holland*, trans. Lee, 79.
67. See Pagden, "Law, Colonization, Legitimation, and the European Background," 20–21. See also Benton and Straumann, "Acquiring Empire by Law."
68. Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace by Hugo Grotius*, ed. Tuck, bk. 2, p. 448.
69. For the concept of *civitas* in early modern political thought, especially as it relates to European conquest of the Americas, see Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man*, and Pagden, "Fellow Citizens and Imperial Subjects," 28–46.
70. Van Ittersum, *Profit and Principle*, lxi.
71. See esp. Pagden, "Fellow Citizens and Imperial Subjects," 28–46.

72. For the increase in sugar exports, see Hochstrasser, *Still Life and Trade in the Dutch Golden Age*, 191. For the data on Dutch slave imports to Brazil, see the Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces>.
73. "The most ignoble and scandalous Kind of Subjection, is that by which a Man offers himself to perfect and utter Slavery. . . . 2. Now perfect and utter Slavery, is that which obliges a Man to serve his Master all his Life long, for Diet and other common Necessaries; which indeed if it be thus understood, and confined within the Bounds of Nature, has nothing too hard and severe in it; for that perpetual Obligation to Service, is recompensed by the Certainty of being always provided for; which those who let themselves out to daily Labour, are often far from being assured of."
II.V.31 "Publick Subjection is that of a whole Nation, who put themselves under the Power and Jurisdiction, either of one Person or of several, or even of another Nation." Quoted from Grotius, *The Rights of War and Peace by Hugo Grotius*, ed. Tuck, bk. 2, pp. 556–57, 563.
74. "They tolerate hard labor very well, and need little in the way of food. Born as though destined to endure natural hardships and the miseries of slavery, they are traded for large sums of money." Van Baerle, *The History of Brazil*, 63, 124.
75. Massing cites Caspar Schmalkalden's description of his voyage to Pernambuco in 1642–45. Massing, "From Dutch Brazil to the West Indies," 277.
76. See Hochstrasser on Joan Nieuwhof's 1682 description of Brazil, *Still Life and Trade*, 191–92.
77. For a comprehensive description of events in the years 1645–48, see Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 159–203. For the debts of planters and assistance from Bahía, see 162–63; see also Emmer, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy, 1580–1880*, 19; and Cardoso, *Negro Slavery in the Sugar Plantations of Veracruz and Pernambuco 1550–1680*, 108–9.
78. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 187.
79. *Ibid.*, 244–45.

CHAPTER 5

1. Jacob Pergens and Jehan Raye wrote on behalf of the Amsterdam directors to the States General February 16th, 1650. *Correspondence 1647–1653*, trans. and ed. Gehring, 84. Pergens was the Amsterdam chamber's delegate to the States General in 1652 to address the States General request for Stuyvesant's recall. See also Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 85.
1. Poem by Evert Nieuwenhof preceding van der Donck's *Beschryvinge van Nieuw-Nederlandt*, 1656. The translation here is my own. A rather loose translation (Johnson seemed to have been focused more on style than literalness) is included in van der Donck, *A Description of New Netherlands*, trans. Jeremiah Johnson and ed. Thomas F. O'Donnell, x. Nieuwenhof's poem replaces one by G. Verbiest in the 1655 edition.
1. See esp. the collection of essays in *Amsterdam-New York*, eds. Harinck and Krabben-dam. Bakker discussed the ways that New Amsterdam modeled itself politically on Amsterdam, and how Amsterdam had modeled itself on Venice, especially in pictorial references. Although he discusses the "city portraits" of Amsterdam and Venice, curiously, he does not mention the Visscher view of New Amsterdam. See Bakker, "Emporium or Empire?," 31–43.
2. These figures also appear on the future seal of New Amsterdam in 1653. The seal is a shield with the crosses of St. Andrew, flanked by the two Native Americans from Visscher's map cartouche. For an illustration see Rink, *Holland on the Hudson*, 233.

3. Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas in the Seventeenth Century," 1458–1459. For an excellent and nuanced discussion of the makeup of the WIC and complex nature of politics in the Republic around 1645, see Bick, "Governing the Free Sea." Schmidt has examined the role of Dutch maps in asserting Dutch territorial sovereignty, especially as directed toward the English. Schmidt, "Mapping an Empire," 549–78.
4. Simon, "Claes Jansz Visscher," 269, 279.
5. The issue of free trade was just one of the colonists' major concerns, and one the directors had dealt with in the late 1630s in both Brazil and New Netherland colonies. See Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations*; Rink, *Holland on the Hudson*; and Klooster, "Failing to Square the Circle: The West India Company's Volta-Face in 1638–1639," 6–9.
6. For more on the discord ca. 1650, see Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective: 1650*; *Hard-Won Unity*, 41–42. Willem II tried to take Amsterdam by force, imprisoning its governing merchant elite, and sending ten thousand troops to conquer the city. Willem (and the provinces of Gelderland, Utrecht, and Zeeland) had opposed the ratification of the peace treaty because it called for the reduction of troops and would have diminished his power. Amsterdam's governing regents, many of whom were also Company directors, had major stakes in trade and generally saw peace as lucrative, whereas Orangist supporters (including orthodox Calvinists and the army), and Zeeland merchants were much less enthusiastic to broker a deal with Spain. Fortunately for Amsterdam, Willem's conquest was foiled by bad weather, and he died of smallpox in November, before he could try again. Amsterdam's merchant elite continued to exert its desires in both the States General, and in policies of the trading companies. With the death of Willem II, the Republic entered a "stadholderless" period between 1650 and 1672.
7. Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 84–85.
8. This is to be published in Jacobs' forthcoming book on Stuyvesant. Jacobs kindly shared this information with me.
9. Frans Blom noted that "the history of the representations of New Netherland and New York shows that a widespread public image of this part of the new world was generated only when the WIC's position was weakening and its restrictive policy on trade and population in New Netherland challenged by other players, such as the City of Amsterdam and the States General in The Hague." Blom, "Picturing New Netherland and New York," 124.
10. On Visscher's news maps of Brazil and his role as a WIC propagandist, see van Groesen, "A Week to Remember," 35–36. The 1648 map of Recife may have inspired Stuyvesant to include a sketch of New Amsterdam along with Jacques Cortelyou's survey map in his 1661 letter to the Amsterdam directors. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 200. See also Brommer and den Heijer, *Grote Atlas van de WIC*, 53, 57.
11. Shorto, *Island at the Center of the World*, 224.
12. See Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius and the Business of Prints in Seventeenth-Century Holland*, 10.
13. The dedication reads: "*Clarissimo Praestantissimoq Pictori Chalcographico Henrico Hondio amico suo candidissimo, offert consecratque Nicolaes Ioannis Vischerius.*" "Nicholaes Jan Visscher offers and dedicates (this) to the most renowned and outstanding engraver, and his most honorable friend, Hendrik Hondius." Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius*, 104–5n64.
14. Orenstein, *Hendrick Hondius*, 58.

15. Unfortunately, much of the archives of the West India Company have been lost. I was unable to find any documentation of an official corporate commission. The notes from the Committee on West Indian Affairs from the States General do not indicate any documentation of maps of New Netherland by Visscher or others (NA Staten Generaal 1.01.02, loketkas WIC, inv. nr. 12564.36), nor do the meeting notes from the Amsterdam chamber of the WIC between 1648 and 1652 (NA 1.05.01.01, C. 14–18). Available digitally: <http://www.gahetna.nl/collectie/archief/ead/index/zoekterm/West%20Indische/aantal/20/eadid/1.05.01.01#c01:2>.
16. Jacobs has questioned the attribution of the sketch to Agustiijn Hermann and its use by the colonists in their remonstrance. He doubts that van der Donck provided the sketch with the remonstrance because it is not included in either the printed *Ver-
toogh* or first edition of the *Beschrijving van Nieu Nederlandt*. Jacobs deemphasizes the interpretation that the view is negative. I concur. The directors at Amsterdam write about their misgivings with Hermann in a letter to Stuyvesant of February 16, 1650. See Brommer and den Heijer, *Grote Atlas van de WIC*, 35, 57. For the letter, see *Correspondence 1647–1653*, trans. and ed. Gehring, 83. Hermann appeared before the States General December 13, 1649. NA Staten Generaal 1.01.02, loketkas WIC, inv. nr. 12564.36, p. 514.
17. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 200. The quote here refers to a sketch by “Agustiijn Heerman” made “three or four years ago” in a letter from Stuyvesant to the directors dated 1660. This may or may not be the Vienna sketch, and certainly other sketches and copies of it may have circulated.
18. For more on Gerritszoon and the WIC, see Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 165–66.
19. Fort Orange was established in 1624 (after Fort Nassau) on the Hudson, Fort Good Hope in 1623 on the Connecticut, and Fort Nassau in 1626 on the Delaware.
20. From Wassenauer’s *Historisch Verhael* dated November 1626. Translated in Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, 84, 88.
21. Quoted in Condon, *New York Beginnings*, 83–84.
22. This is clear in how the WIC operated in Brazil before 1637 and on the West Coast of Africa. On the West coast of Africa, WIC employees were authorized by local African rulers to establish trading posts. WIC agents sought to make trading agreements with local rulers for access to goods from the interior. The Dutch manned their forts minimally, and social interaction with Africans was also fairly minimized, in contrast with the Portuguese model of settlement and trade in Africa. The only area in Africa the Dutch colonized was Luanda, Angola, between 1641 and 1648, in order to maintain claim to possession after Portuguese abandonment after conquest in 1641. Consequently, very few printed maps were published, and none by Visscher are extant to my knowledge. Ribeiro da Silva, *Dutch and Portuguese in Western Africa*, 135–37, 198–202.
23. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson*, 20–21, 61; also Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 31, 69–70.
24. From Nicolaes van Wassenauer’s *Historisch Verhael* dated April 1624. Translated in Jameson, ed., *Narratives of New Netherland 1609–1664*, 75–76.
25. See Westra, “Lost and Found,” 7–16.
26. Van den Heuvel, “*De Huysbou*,” 61–62.
27. In Wassenauer’s *Historisch Verhael* dated October, 1628. Translated in Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, 88.
28. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson*, 76–79. See also Shattuck, “Dutch Jurisprudence in New Netherland and New York,” 143–44.

29. Shattuck, "Dutch Jurisprudence in New Netherland and New York," 143.
30. Jacobs, "Migration, Population, and Government in New Netherland," 89.
31. This was the situation with Cornelis Melijn, and was a frequent topic in WIC directors' letters to Stuyvesant. See *Correspondence 1647–1653*, trans. and ed. Gehring; as well as Shorto, *Island at the Center of the World*, 139–45.
32. Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 69.
33. Gehring, "New Netherland," 83.
34. Quoted in Zandvliet, "Mapping the Dutch World Overseas," 1457. See also the translation in Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, 91.
35. Van Rensselaer, together with Godijn, Albert Coenraedtszoon Burgh, and Samuel Blommaert took the initiative to start colonies along the Hudson River near Fort Orange. For de Laet's collaboration, see Bremmer, "The Correspondence of Johannes De Laet (1581–1649) as a Mirror of His Life," 152–53. De Laet quoted in translation in Condon, *New York Beginnings*, 126.
36. Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909*, vol. 2, pp. 69–72. Block's manuscript map is extant in Dutch National Archives in The Hague, Verzameling Buitenlandse Kaarten Leupe, no. 4 VEL, inv. no. 520.
37. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 168.
38. Bremmer, "The Correspondence of Johannes De Laet (1581–1649) as a Mirror of His Life," 150.
39. Hoftijzer, "The Library of Johannes De Laet (1581–1649)," 206–7.
40. Schmidt, "Space, Time, Travel: Hugo De Groot, Johannes De Laet, and the Advancement of Geographic Learning," 186–98.
41. Hoftijzer, "The Library of Johannes De Laet (1581–1649)," 211. Piso's work is dedicated to States General. On the manuscript by De Laet for Johan Maurits, see de Laet, *Suiker, verfhout & tabak*, ed. Teensma.
42. The atlas is advertised in Jan van Hilten's corantos from 1634 and 1635. Van der Krogt, *Advertenties voor kaarten, atlassen, globes in Amsterdamse kranten, 1621–1811*, 5–6 (A20, A27).
43. For more on the historical presence of indigenous groups in New Netherland, see Paul Otto, "Intercultural Relations between Native Americans and Europeans in New Netherland and New York"; and Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter in America*. See also Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 13–14.
44. Otto, "Intercultural Relations," 184–85.
45. Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter*, 59–60.
46. Otto, "Intercultural Relations," 182.
47. Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter*, 96–97.
48. Governor Peter Minuit purchased eleven thousand *morgens* of Manhattan island for sixty guilders in 1626. For a summary of the sources, see Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter*, 94–97. See also Venema, *Beverwijck*, 40–41.
49. "Inasmuch as the Company has, by its conceded Freedome, promised to take all Colonists, as well as freemen as servants, under its protection, and to aid in defending them against all foreign and domestic wars; and as the improvement of affairs by good orders from here, and better government there, is not altogether hopeless, so that this place may be preserved, in the first instance, with small profits, or at least without loss; we are, therefore, of opinion, under correction, that the Company cannot decently or consistently abandon it." Quoted in Condon, *New York Beginnings*, 145.
50. See Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations*, 148–52. The initial proposal by the WIC also

required that colonists pay their own way across the Atlantic, and that they must cultivate the land granted them. Moreover, men would be required to fight in the colony's defense and provide their own firearms. The Company also sought to pass on maintenance costs of fort construction and schools and churches to the potential colonists. Rink has also treated the role of Amsterdam merchants in the economic development of New Netherland extensively. See esp. chap. 7, pp. 172–213.

51. Syrett, "Private Enterprise in New Amsterdam," 543.
52. Condon, *New York Beginnings*, 147.
53. *Ibid.*, 149.
54. See esp. Otto, *The Dutch-Munsee Encounter*, 106–26.
55. Quoted in Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 76.
56. Shattuck, "Dutch Jurisprudence in New Netherland and New York," 144.
57. Jacobs, "Dutch Proprietary Manors in America," 306.
58. Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 70.
59. Jacobs, "Dutch Proprietary Manors in America," 317–18.
60. Venema, *Beverwijck*, 45.
61. Condon, *New York Beginnings*, 151; Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 72–73.
62. Jacobs, "Dutch Proprietary Manors in America," 321–22.
63. The directors frequently make reference to the New Amsterdam delegates as misrepresenting themselves as farmers who want to avoid duties and taxes, and the directors make clear that colonists' role is to pay taxes and duties. See esp. letters from the directors to Stuyvesant from July 24, 1650; September 22, 1650; and April 26, 1651, in *Correspondence 1647–1653*, ed. and trans. Gehring, 91–96, 122–23.
64. The other two delegates were Jacob van Couwenhoven and Jan Evertszoon Bout. For an English translation of the *Vertoogh*, see Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, 285–354. For recent commentary, see Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 83–87.
65. See Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 73. Jacobs has recently expanded this research, which he kindly shared and discussed with me in September, 2013. His conclusions are forthcoming in chap. 6 of his book on Pieter Stuyvesant.
66. Jacobs, *The Colony of New Netherland*, 78–83.
67. De Vries and van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy*, 529–39.
68. *Ibid.*, 537.
69. Six other *praetjes* published in 1649 criticized the WIC's handling of Brazil. The *Amsterdams Dams-praetje* was pro-peace with Portugal; the *Amsterdams Tafel-praetje* promoted free trade. See Dingemanse and Drees, "Praetjes over de WIC en Brazilië," 112–27. Intriguingly, the *Amsterdams Dams-praetje* specifically named three directors from the Amsterdam chamber, Isaac van Beeck, Eduard Man, and Jehan Raye, who were involved in New Netherlands affairs ca. 1650. Melijn is the possible author of the *Amsterdams Tafel-praetje*.
70. Jacobs, "Dutch Proprietary Manors in America," 321–22.
71. Quoted in Condon, *New York Beginnings*, 167.
72. The proposed structure was not controversial, since it followed Dutch tradition. Rather, the directors at Amsterdam had a problem with how the members of the municipal leadership would be elected and who they would be. The initial order favored patroons. The WIC Amsterdam directors were not pleased with it, and sought assistance from the burgomasters of Amsterdam. They clearly wanted to retain their overlordship. In a letter to Stuyvesant dated July 24, 1650, they wrote: "The vexation caused to us by the delegates from new Netherland and their party, who although occasionally appearing to grow weary of their solicitations, yet have frequently in-

stigated by, we do not know whom, made new requests. We presume, however, it has been done by people, who wish to avoid paying the tolls due to the Company and the sequel of their solicitations will prove this. These delegates and their followers have first assumed the bearing of farmers and as if their intentions were only to promote the increase of population and agriculture. All their remonstrances show that by now these farmers have suddenly been transformed into merchants and they endeavor by all kinds of means to persuade their High Mightinesses that the customs duties cannot by borne by the community." This letter continues to castigate specifically Cornelis Melijn and van der Donck for their refusal to pay duties on goods, and the Company's conference with the magistrates of Amsterdam over the matter. Quoted from *Correspondence 1647–1653*, ed. and trans. Gehring, 91.

73. Two figural engravings published in Joost Hartgerszoon's *Beschryjvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt, Nieuw Engelandt, en d'eylanden Bermudes . . .* from Amsterdam in 1651 reuse the decorative details on Willem Blaeu's 1635 *Nova Belgii* map, and amazingly, Pieter de Marees' 1602 description of West Africa. An imagined landscape scene combines the Mohawk village, canoes, and animals from Blaeu's earlier map along with a bastioned fort, which did not then exist.
74. To the WIC, van der Donck and Melijn's attempts were examples of "high-minded and seditious" colonists seeking powers and rights the WIC did not interpret as theirs. The directors' frustration over the continued onslaught is captured in a letter to Stuyvesant from March 21, 1651: "These men [the colonial delegates] try by all sorts of underhanded means to stir up the good community and subjects against the Company and its officers and to mislead them from their duties, hoping in this way, if possible, to deprive the aforesaid Company and its officers of their privileges, prerogatives and authority . . . we are resolved never to grant any colonist such privileges and jurisdiction as these people erroneously imagine to possess." Quoted from *Correspondence, 1647–1653*, ed. and trans. Gehring, 104, 108.
75. The WIC directors from Amsterdam approved the States General's April 11, 1650, recommendation for a bench of justice for New Amsterdam in a letter dated April 4, 1652. *Correspondence 1647–1653*, ed. and trans. Gehring, 149. See also Jacobs, "To Favor This New and Growing City of New Amsterdam with a Court of Justice," 19. The charter was enacted February 2, 1653.
76. In a July 24, 1653, letter from the directors at Amsterdam to Stuyvesant and the Council of New Netherland, they grant van der Donck the ability to practice as an advocate in New Netherland, and to "examine the documents and papers kept by the secretary there in order to be able to complete his already begun Description of New Netherland. . . . We have also deemed it advisable hereby to refer the aforesaid van der Donck to your honors for the purpose of your honors allowing him such papers and documents as may be thought of service to him for the completion of his history. However, as this matter is not without difficulty and requires consideration, we also want to recommend that your honors take care herein that the Company's own weapons are not turned upon itself, and that it is not drawn into new troubles and difficulties in the process." Quoted from *Correspondence 1647–1653*, ed. and trans. Gehring, 220–21.
77. Quoted from *Correspondence, 1647–1653*, ed. and trans. Gehring, 133.
78. The 1655 edition includes one engraving, the same imagined landscape previously published in Joost Hartgerszoon's *Beschryjvinghe van Virginia, Nieuw Nederlandt, Nieuw Engelandt, en d'eylanden Bermudes* (1651).

79. The prefatory text is addressed specifically to *burgermeesteren* Joan Huydekooper, Cornelis de Graeff, Joan vande Pol Hermansz, and Hendrick Dircksz Spiegel.
80. See Schuckman, *Claes Jansz Visscher*, cat. no. 264. Nicolaes Vissscher removed his father's name from the cartouche, replacing it with his own in the third state. The fourth state included the privilege added to the left of the view: *cum Privil Ordin. General Belgii Foederati*.
81. O'Donnell, ed., "Introduction," in van der Donck, *A Description of New Netherlands*, viii.
82. *Ibid.*, ix.
83. Residents of New Netherland increased in number by 2,900 between 1655 and 1664. See Klooster, "Winds of Change," 55. See also Jacobs, "Migration, Population, and Government in New Netherland," 86.
84. Middleton, "The Idea of 'Amsterdam' in New Amsterdam and Early New York," 53n23. After the loss of Brazil and the end of the first Anglo-Dutch war in 1654, the WIC directors granted land to employees from Brazil, as well as Portuguese Jews. By 1664, New Netherland had seven thousand to nine thousand colonists, in fifteen towns with courts of justice, including New Amsterdam and Beverwijk, and two patroonships and other smaller villages. Jacobs, "Migration, Population, and Government in New Netherland," 86.
85. Jacobs, "'To Favor This New and Growing City of New Amsterdam with a Court of Justice,'" 17. See also Maika, "The Burgher Right in Seventeenth-Century Manhattan," 93–94.
86. What is not so visible should also be noted: during these same years, the amount spent by the WIC on procuring slaves increased almost fourfold. After the loss of Brazil, it was hoped that New Netherland could be another profitable market for slaves. Amsterdam WIC director and New Netherland committee member Hans Bontemantel lists the Amsterdam chamber's "recognition" for slaves in 1656 at 15,135 guilders, 1657 at 42,085 guilders, and 1658 at 56,990 guilders. Shattuck, ed., *New Netherland Papers, c. 1650–1660*, 5–6. <http://www.newnetherlandinstitute.org/files/7713/5726/1871/Bontemantel.pdf>.
87. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, 200. The quote here refers to a sketch by "Agustijn Heerman" made "three or four years ago" in a letter from Stuyvesant to the directors dated 1660. In 1658, a new survey of New Amsterdam was requested by the city council and the Company endorsed their request. Surveyor Jacques Cortelyou completed the new cadastral survey of the colony in September 1661. *Schout* Nicholas de Sille listed the houses and inhabitants of the city. Brommer and den Heijer, eds., *Grote Atlas van de WIC*, 53.

CHAPTER 6

1. Kester, *The One and the Many*, 184.
2. On Japanese robes in Dutch paintings, see Hollander, "Vermeer's Robe," 177–95. The scholarship on visual culture of Dutch global interactions is a growing area in the discipline.
3. See, for example, the aptly titled catalog edited by Ellinoor Bergvelt and Renée Kistemaker, *De wereld binnen handbereik*.
4. Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis*, 58–59.

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Authored

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